the weekly Standard

SEPTEMBER 9, 2002 $3.95

THE STATE DEPT. VS. BUSH
STEPHEN F. HAYES

Year One

We didn't change after all.

Things changed, yes. Flags waved. A president emerged. The economy slid. The enemy scattered. Politics cooled. The allies rallied. The allies chafed. Politics returned.

But *we* didn't change. We thought we would. After the shock of the bolt from the blue, it was said that we would never be the same. That it was the end of irony. That the pose of knowing detachment with which we went to bed September 10 was gone for good.

Not so. Before the first year was out, it was back, all of it. Irony. Triviality. Vulgarity. Frivolousness. Whimsy. Farce. All the things no healthy society can live without.

BY CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

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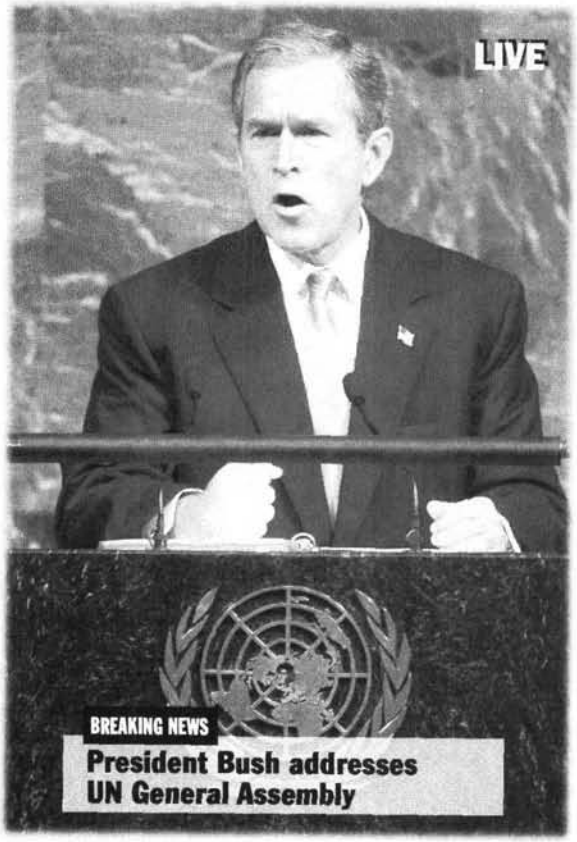

What's the news?

Will Congress send President Bush to the UN on September 12th with good news to report? Or will he go with America's overdue UN bills still unpaid?

As the President prepares to address world leaders at the United Nations, America is about to break an important promise because Congress is failing to act. It's up to Congress to release our third and final arrears payment and authorize us to pay our fair share of peacekeeping dues before the President speaks to the UN next week.

If Congress acts now, President Bush will be able to deliver more than a speech on September 12th. He will be able to deliver on America's commitment to the UN.

Honor our commitment to the UN.

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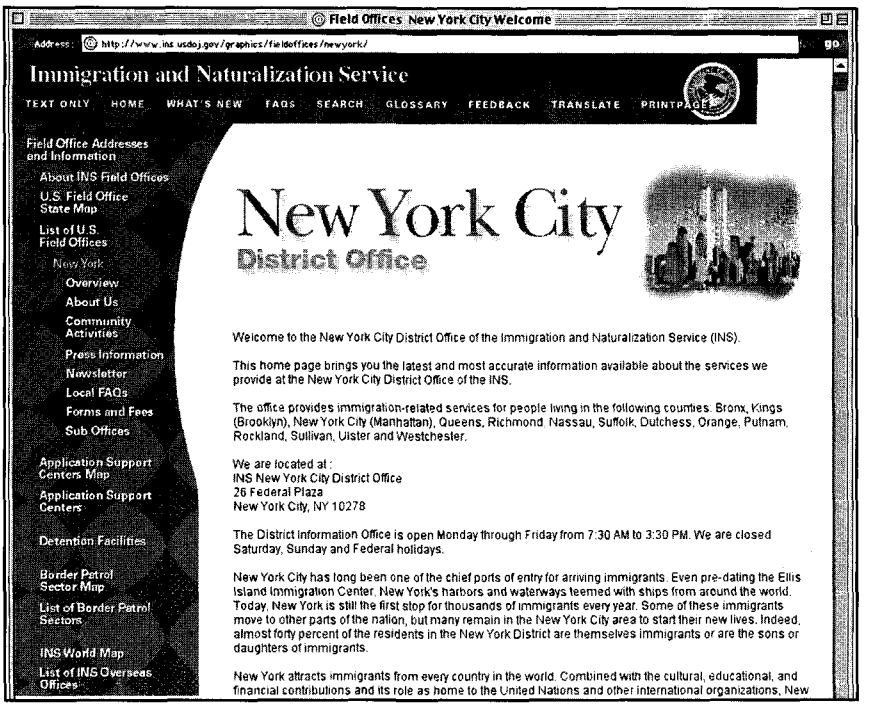
Up to Date in New York City

Back in March, the Immigration and Naturalization Service made headlines when it was revealed that the INS had sent letters to a Florida flight school indicating that Mohamed Atta and Marwan Al-Shehhi had been approved for student visas—visas they obviously wouldn't be needing unless it was to impress the 72 black-eyed virgins Allah had assigned them for flying passenger jets through the World Trade Center six months to the day before the letters were sent. (Of the 19 hijackers, 15 turned out to have been issued valid travel, student, or business visas.)

It has now come to THE SCRAPBOOK's attention that the website of the INS's New York City field office is similarly as fresh as yesterday's headlines. On it, they promise that their home page "brings you the latest and most accurate information available about the services we provide at the New York City District Office." Curious, then, that the INS homepage features a cityscape of New York with the Twin Towers still standing tall, as if nothing had ever happened.

Trying to get an answer as to why they would leave this photograph as their greeting card, THE SCRAPBOOK has come to understand firsthand how the letters might have gotten lost in the bureaucratic shuffle. It took us roughly 45 minutes and 10 transferred calls just to locate the public affairs office, which did not respond to our inquiries by press time. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported recently that the head of the INS, James Ziglar, told President Bush that he'll soon be stepping down. As with everything else related to the INS, a model of inefficiency, we predict it won't be soon enough. ♦



The INS's not-very-up-to-date website illustration

The Cowards of Academe, cont.

Emory University has announced a stay of execution for tenured history professor Michael Bellesiles, who is being placed on paid leave for the fall semester. Bellesiles is the author of *Arming America*, an anti-gun history that was given the prestigious Bancroft prize in 2001 by Columbia University, even as it was coming under attack for several varieties of phoniness.

Last fall, the head of Emory's history department encouraged Bellesiles to address his critics' charges of falsified evidence and widespread error. He did so in a disingenuous and incomplete account published in an unrefereed newsletter. University officials then let it be known that they were waiting for an ostensibly definitive accounting from Bellesiles, to be published in the spring issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. This proved to be another highly selective defense that failed to answer questions about Bellesiles's use of records whose existence couldn't be verified, irregular data that couldn't be duplicated, historical texts that had been misrepresented, and so on.

Emory then took the step in February of announcing an internal investigation. This failed to clear Bellesiles's name, and a committee of outside academics was hired to look into the matter. They would make a final report by summer's end, the university promised. But now Emory has punted again, postponing the unpleasant work of punishing a blatantly dishonest colleague. It's sad but not surprising. After giving Bellesiles's book its imprimatur, Columbia University and the

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Bancroft judges never publicly admitted error. Why should Emory?

David Skinner's June 10 article in these pages ("The Cowards of Academe") noted that "Emory . . . seems to be taking the long way around to passing judgment." That now looks generous, though not nearly as generous as Emory is being to Bellesiles. On more than one occasion Emory faculty members privately complained to us that this was an unfair assessment. Now that their school is paying Bellesiles another semester's salary for a job not done, we wonder if they still feel that way. ♦

College vs. Prison

Race relations in America certainly don't improve when the demagogic soundbites of Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson are given credibility by junk social science, and when such social science is swallowed whole by the *New York Times*.

Yet that's exactly what happened last week, when the *Times*'s Fox Butterfield wrote up a new study from the Justice Policy Institute—"a Washington-based research and advocacy group that supports alternatives to incarceration"—claiming that "more black men are behind bars than are enrolled in colleges or universities."

As Iain Murray of the Statistical Assessment Service (STATS), a nonpartisan media watchdog group, points out, "the Justice Policy Institute is comparing apples and oranges. You can go to prison at any age, but are most likely to be in college between the ages of 18-24." In fact, when you compare the numbers for *college-age* black males in prison versus those in college (and substitute the more accurate 2001 Census Bureau data, which show 815,000 black males enrolled in college, as compared with the 603,000 claimed by JPI), you find that black males aged 18-24 are 2.5 times more likely to be in college than in jail.

Butterfield also touts JPI's claim that the number of black men in prison has quintupled during the past 20 years, and that this ominously coincides with "the prison construction boom that began in 1980." Buried near the end of his article are figures from the Bureau of Justice Statistics showing that the number of Americans of *all* races in prison has quadrupled since 1980.

On the subject of crime, perhaps such credulous rehashing of misleading press releases should be expected from the paper that was once dense enough to headline a Butterfield dispatch, "Crime Keeps on Falling, but Prisons Keep on Filling."

Meanwhile, the director of the NAACP's Washington chapter predictably commented: "It is indeed a sad statement about our nation that it appears to be easier for governments to invest precious public dollars into the incarceration of African-American men than it is for them to invest in higher education." It's sadder still that the NAACP thinks more government spending on colleges would cause incarceration rates to drop. ♦

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Casual

Debtor Nations

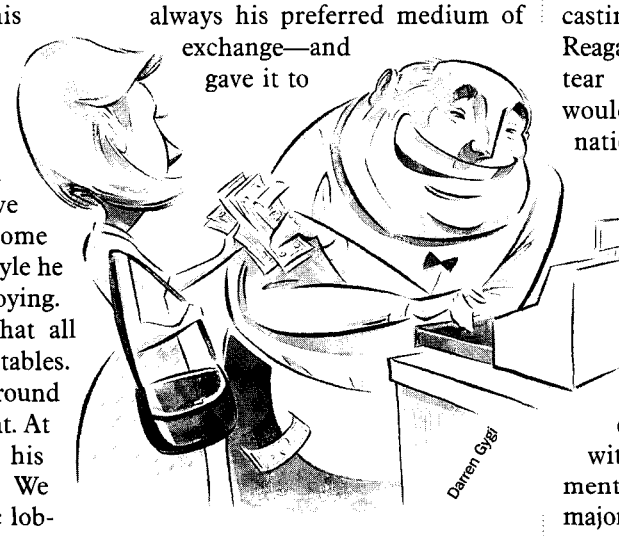
In my old neighborhood, an IOU meant something. Not the formal, lawyer-written documents that are used today, but the currency of reciprocal obligation widely in use on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. It is this system that academic communitarians and other do-gooders are trying to figure out how to have government simulate. Good luck to them.

There was a neighborhood guy I'll call George—a bookmaker and ticket scalper who decided to live his dream and open a restaurant in the theater district. In part he just loved greeting guests, schmoozing them, and being king of all he surveyed. But a legitimate business also gave him a way to account for income and justify to the IRS the lifestyle he and his family were clearly enjoying.

The main problem was that all George surveyed were empty tables. "I can go snow blind looking around this joint," he told me one night. At the time my firm and I were his biggest regular customers. We knew good steak and gigantic lobsters when we saw them. The place also had a real New York atmosphere of the sort tourists don't write home about. But business was terrible, and the joint was about to close. So I offered to pay in advance our best guess as to what our bill would be over the next year. After all, the food was good and theater tickets were conjured out of thin air for the biggest hits on short notice. Besides, what's a friend for?

Fast forward two years. The restaurant has taken off and become a hot spot. And I am on business in Seattle, sick as I have ever been. So I call my then-fiancée, and now wife, Cita, and ask her to come out to tend to me and to get me home to a real doctor, it being common knowledge that no doctor west of Park Avenue could cure anything. And Seattle, I had been told, was west of Park Avenue, a fact that seemed to me to be of relevance only to pilots, until then.

At that late hour, Cita did not have enough cash to buy a ticket for a cross-country flight. And in those days frugal working girls viewed credit cards as a short-cut to penury. So I told her to see George at the restaurant. She did. He pulled a fistful of bills from his pocket—cash was always his preferred medium of exchange—and gave it to her. No counting. That would have been insulting to her and to me, as he saw it. And as I would have seen it.



Cita came, I recovered, came back to New York, saw a real doctor. Trauma over. All of which proves that we shouldn't bother with our so-called allies when deciding what to do about Saddam. You see, they don't understand reciprocity.

Take the French. After they surrendered to Hitler despite having more men in the field than did the Germans, we got the Nazis out of their country while they were trying to figure out how to fit into the everlasting Reich's new world order. And then we kept them safe from the Russians for fifty years. But you don't see our French friends reaching in their pockets to hand us a thank you note. Instead, they lead the current anti-American charge by cozying up to the North Koreans after we break off discussions with their crackpot dictator, unleashing European Union officials to threaten any country that shares our views on the new world court with exclusion from membership, and trying to keep our television programs off the European air.

The Germans are no better. They have promised not to help us if we decide to eliminate Saddam's threat, unless U.N. members such as Syria, Zimbabwe, and other pillars of the international community go along. And they are busy figuring out how to prevent American companies from getting a toehold in key German industries such as energy and broadcasting. Never mind that if Ronald Reagan hadn't forced the Russians to tear down that wall, half of them would still be locked inside the nation-prison that was East Germany.

The Russians are no better. By way of thanking us for keeping on the pressure that brought the Communist regime down and removed the terror of a late-night knock on the door, they have decided to shore up Saddam with a massive infusion of investment, and help Iran to become a major nuclear power. With Putin for a friend . . .

The British are a different case. For one thing, we owe them for standing up to Hitler, alone, while we dithered. For another, Tony Blair understands that in this world you stick with your longtime friends, even when you are a little queasy about what such loyalty will do to your political standing at home. Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher, and my old friend George would approve of his courage and understanding of just what an IOU is all about.

George is no longer with us. He is gone and missed, as is the sense of reciprocity that knitted our Lower East Side together.

Irwin M. Stelzer

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You deserve a factual look at...

The Saudis

Are they our friends . . . or our enemies?

For decades the U.S. has considered Saudi Arabia our friend—and an important source of oil. But now, because fifteen of nineteen of the September 11 hijackers were Saudi citizens, because Saudi schools and newspapers teach anti-American and anti-Semitic hatred, and because Saudi Arabia refuses to cooperate with U.S. efforts to stop terrorism, many are asking whether this "friendship" still makes sense.

What are the facts?

Militant Islam thrives in Saudi Arabia. Not only were most of the 9/11 terrorists Saudis, but some 80% of the prisoners held at Guantánamo are Saudis, Osama bin Laden is a Saudi, and recent evidence proves that Saudi Arabia has been a principal supporter both of al Qaeda and of Palestinian suicide bombers.

But these obvious connections to terrorism are just the beginning. The Saudis actively support more than 30,000 Wahhabi religious schools and mosques in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Western Europe and the United States. Wahhabism calls for the destruction of the United States and Israel and Western values, replacing them with totalitarian Islamist regimes and fundamentalist societies, similar to the one created by the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Despite friendly-sounding rhetoric from its leaders, the Saudi government refuses to assist the U.S. capture Islamic terrorists. In 1996, the Saudis refused a U.S. request that they seize Osama bin Laden. In 1995, they refused to hand over Imad Mughniyah, the likely perpetrator of the 1983 bombing of the Marine barracks in Lebanon. After 9/11, the Saudis opposed the U.S. attack on the Taliban and have failed to crack down on their own al Qaeda supporters. No wonder the Saudi-supported press regularly praises terrorist actions against the U.S. and Israel, or that secret documents found recently prove that the Saudi government gives money to terrorist organizations and bestows handsome cash rewards on the families of suicide bombers in Israel.

It's also no wonder that a much-publicized report to a Pentagon advisory board recently concluded that "the Saudis are active at every level of the terror chain, from planners to financiers." The report labeled the kingdom "the most dangerous opponent of American interests in the Middle East."

> "The U.S. must reconsider its relationship with Saudi Arabia. In the meantime, we must think of it as our enemy and consider this reality in our global fight against terrorism."

Saudi Arabia rejects important basic human freedoms. Saudi Arabia is run by a totalitarian regime—the oil-rich House of Saud, a tyranny of princes and royal cousins. None of the basic freedoms held sacred by Western democracies—the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, rights for women, private property, free speech, equal justice, religious tolerance—is tolerated by the Saudis. Indeed, Saudi culture is barbarically restrictive: Woman may not drive and are treated as chattel by their husbands and by the regime; the press is ruthlessly censored; and public executions and dismemberments are still practiced. During the Gulf War, President Bush was prevented by the Saudi government from conducting a religious service on a U.S. military base on Saudi soil. U.S. servicewomen in Saudi Arabia must wear veils in public. Saudi men routinely abduct their U.S. citizen children, forcefully covert them to Islam and, if girls, press them into marriages – often polygamous ones.

The myth of our dependence on Saudi oil. Saudi oil policy has always been openly self-serving—the Saudis have threatened or implemented at least three oil embargoes over recent decades, including one in 1973-74 that triggered a deep economic crisis in the U.S. In reality, they have sold us oil when it served their financial and political purposes.

While at one time the U.S. relied heavily on the free flow of Saudi oil—since as much as 25% of the world's supply may lie within its boundaries—things have changed. Russia and Mexico have become reliable suppliers, and vast new oil fields around the Caspian Sea are coming on line. New energy technologies are reducing our dependence on oil in general. Finally, most analysts agree that the Saudis need the U.S. as their customer much more than we need them as a supplier. The Saudis are not likely to cut us off, and if they do, we can obtain plentiful oil from other sources.

Given its totalitarian policies, its open support of terrorism, and the anti-American, anti-Israel vitriol spewing daily from its state-sponsored press and religious institutions, the U.S. must reconsider its relationship with Saudi Arabia. It's time to acknowledge that the Saudis are effectively waging a war against us—that they are behaving like enemies. Fortunately, Saudi Arabia's reduced importance as a supplier to the U.S. now allows us to make decisions based on human rights and our greater strategic interests, rather than solely on our energy needs. Just as a change in regimes in Iraq would benefit the U.S. and the world, so would a change in the feudal regime in Saudi Arabia—the ousting of the royal ruling class. Above all, we should encourage our government to confront the hypocritical and dictatorial Saudi rulers. In addition, if we can find Saudis of valor and vision, we should encourage them to lead their country to democracy. In the meantime, we must consider Saudi Arabia our enemy and consider this reality in our global fight against terrorism.

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Adventures in BBQ

David Brooks places too much emphasis on barbecue grills and SUVs in "Patio Man and the Sprawl People" (August 12/August 19) and too little emphasis on what is most interesting about the new suburbs, which is that they represent an attempt to quickly create safe, family-centered communities. What is important is not the width of the streets, but rather the low probability that *Cops* will be taping its next episode on them.

Sprinkler Cities have tremendous advantages for people who get transferred frequently, making it easier for families with kids to make yet another move. People who have recently come from somewhere else do not have extended family support to draw upon. The new suburbs are places where people can get immediate help from their neighbors in a family emergency, even if they just moved in ten days ago.

Kids' activities make these housing developments into communities, because the primary way the adults become acquainted is through their children. Kids are the reason for this kind of suburb, and they are the glue that holds the whole thing together.

Fancy grills and expensive patio furniture are fair game for the satirical observer, I suppose, but they are inconsequential results of high disposable income, nothing more.

Byron Matthews
Sandia Park, NM

I read with great interest David Brooks's "Patio Man and the Sprawl People" on the likes of Henderson, Nevada, where my wife (a subscriber to The Weekly Standard) and I reside. Brooks is a brilliant writer, and I found myself hoping that his article would go on and on.

That said, I would like to point out that Brooks draws an overly broad picture of Henderson. Among other things, he seems to think that a $500,000 house represents the upper part of the market. For our part, we live in a house for which we paid $1.2 million, and—guess what—our house is the cheapest in the whole neighborhood.

Nonetheless, his point that you can buy more house for the money than just about anywhere else is right on. We moved from San Diego from a 2,800 square-foot downtown apartment to a 4,500 square-foot home and paid less money.

Graef Crystal
Henderson, NV

I found the insight in David Brooks's "Patio Man and the Sprawl People" amazing. Perhaps that's because it resonated with me personally.

Having grown up in Littleton, Colorado, and lived there since 1959, I watched as Douglas County transformed from wheat fields and dry grassland to what Brooks describes as "the fastest-

growing county in America." The area I had lived in for over 35 years went from being a suburb to being an "old" suburb.

Newcomers began moving into the "new" suburbs farther out and paying outrageous sums of money for crackerbox homes with little, tiny yards in and around Douglas County. Finally came the enormous shopping malls, the big-box stores, and the traffic. It became too much to fight . . . so I packed up and moved on.

Don't tell anyone where I am because it's wonderful here and much like Littleton, Colorado, was 25 years ago, without the mountains.

Dave Schallert
Anytown, USA

No More Trophies

David Gelernter's suggestion in "No Trophies for Terrorists" (August 12/August 19) that Israel ban television photographers from homicide bombing scenes and thus deprive the murderers of the satisfaction of gloating could be self-defeating. Instead, the world should be shown the Palestinians cheering in the streets after the bloodletting, even though the "bleating of the lamb may excite the tiger."

In an effort to rouse world sympathy, some have even suggested opening the hospitals to TV cameras to show the condition of the thousands of wounded. The sympathy and support of the world is not easy to achieve, but without graphic proof, who in today's world would believe Israel?

The Palestinians have used television most effectively and have indeed convinced the world that they are the victims, not the perpetrators, of the violence. This is a lesson Israel can learn from her enemies.

Faye Reichwald
New York, NY

It is misguided to translate the Hebrew "P'lishtim" to "Palestinians" rather than to the traditional "Philistines" as in "No Trophies for Terrorists." This translation supports the Arab propaganda goal of persuading the world that the current Arab residents of Israel are descended of the Biblical Canaanite Philistines, and that the land is, therefore, theirs by an ancient birthright.

In fact, the Arabs reached those lands as a conquering army roughly 1,500 years after David lamented Saul and Jonathan, and most of the current Arab residents are descended of Arabs who migrated into the Ottoman province of Palestine during the last 100 years of Ottoman rule, attracted by Ottoman liberalism and the economic opportunity created by Jewish investment.

Up until the mid-1960s, modern references to "Palestinians" were references to the Jews living in Ottoman, and then British Mandatory Palestine!

The Arabs hijacked the Palestinian identifier, rather successfully, and have used it to support the "precedence" argument for their entitlement to the land,

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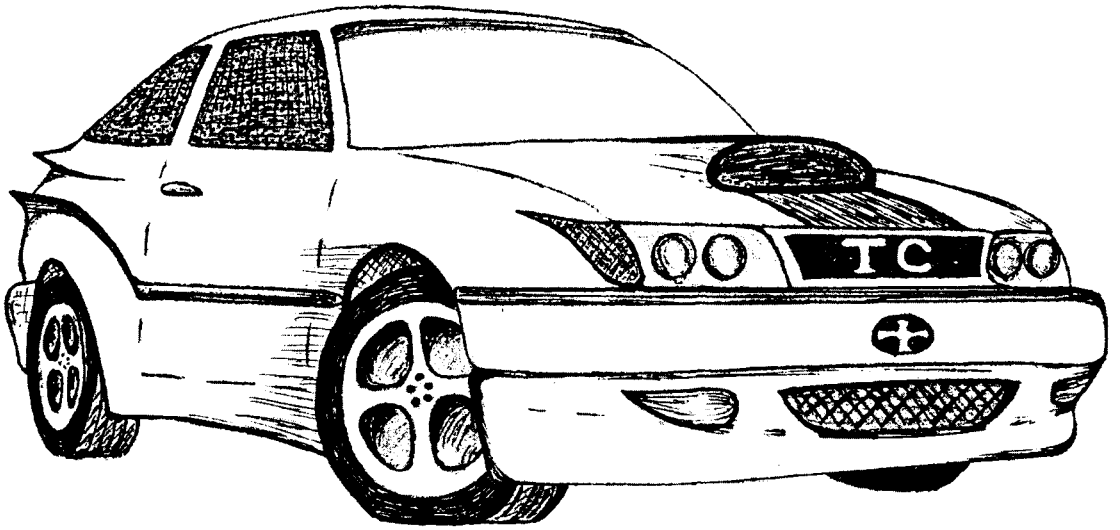
TURBO Catholicism



Why is so much of Catholicism gutless, anemic, and wimpy these days? Is it because there are so many touchie-feelie types in the priesthood? You know, "Let's all hold hands now and sing 'All Shall Be Well,' and then let's give one another a big hug." It's like being back at summer camp. No wonder the sacred liturgy often resembles a hootenanny!

And we get camp-fire sermonettes with all the substance and nutrition of a marshmallow. Where's the beef? We don't hear much, if anything, about the Church's teachings on abortion, contraception, euthanasia, homosexuality, pre-marital sex, pornography, consumerism, the indissolubility of marriage, Purgatory, or Hell. Pope John Paul II valiantly called for a New Evangelization, and we sit around hearing about how we need to get in touch with our inner child and feel good about ourselves.

Hey, it's time to slap a turbocharger on our Catholic Engine — and dump that sludgebox tranny in favor of a 5-speed manual gearbox — and *get movin'*!

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when, in fact, they are but one of a series of conquerors of conquerors of the Jewish homeland.

PAUL KOTIK
Plantation, FL

EVIL CONSERVATIVES

IN "Bushophobia on West 43rd Street," Erin Sheley showed one way the *New York Times* inserts its biases into its news columns (August 12/August 19).

The *Times* also shows its prejudices by the way it uses the word "conservative." Many American politicians are described as conservative—fair enough. But others who have been described as conservative or conservatives on the pages of the *Times* include mullahs in Halabja, Iraq (August 3), Christian clergymen (August 4), an Englishman who wrote that "Israel no longer had a right to exist" (August 4), members of Italian premier Berlusconi's coalition (August 2), and certain Korean legislators (August 1), to cite only a few recent examples.

Reading the *Times*, one has to wonder if the word has any meaning. Actually, Tom Friedman revealed the *Times*'s mindset in his column of June 26 where he mentioned the "evil conservative clerics" who govern Iran. Apparently, the *Times*'s writers and editors feel strongly that conservatives are wrong, misguided, or worse, therefore anyone they don't like can be described as conservative.

I urge readers of THE WEEKLY STANDARD to see for themselves. Go to the website for the *New York Times* and search for the word "conservative." Readers will be amazed at how frequently the word is used and the variety of people it can describe.

A.A. KATTERHENRY
Clearwater, FL

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER'S CLAIM in "Our Real Friends in Europe" (August 26/September 2) that Western Europe is only rich because of the half century it has spent under the American umbrella is very one-sided. The economic aid once offered via the Marshall Plan was not solely an act of charity toward Europe, but was also believed to be in the best interest of the U.S. economy at the time.

Like most "protective" schemes, the Marshall Plan was primarily intended to protect U.S. interests abroad. And that's fine—acting from self-interest often benefits everyone involved. But helping out someone else does not automatically give one the right to claim unconditional obedience.

At best, Krauthammer's story reminds one of a parent who loudly complains when his 57-year-old foster child has become independent and no longer accepts parental dictates as the holy and absolute truth. All parents know that the time will come when, whether they like it or not, they can no longer force their will upon their grown children. If their relationship is to have any future at all, it will have to be based on mutual respect instead of dictation.

Does that make all children ungrateful? No. Does that mean we should prevent children from growing up? No. It means only that parents should be expected to confront change with maturity and a sense of reality.

Having been raised in the United States and having lived in Europe for approximately 25 years, I believe I am able to look at both sides more or less objectively. I understand American disappointment that Europeans are often not as U.S.-friendly and like-minded as could be hoped of supposed allies. I share that feeling.

But the condescending attitude of Krauthammer's article will bring neither respect nor cooperation. Only action based on conviction will do that. Any leader knows that this takes a continuous effort, but ultimately brings the best and longest lasting results.

JOHN ELSHOUT
Zwijndrecht, The Netherlands

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

JONATHAN V. LAST's "The Name Game" (August 12/August 19) was most amusing. However, I'm surprised he did not get into the veritable mother lode of remarkable names offered by the sport of American football.

Some of the old University of Southern California teams alone are a treasury of quirky names. For instance: Mortimer Kaer, Morley Drury, Orville Mohler, Gauis Shaver, Ambrose Schindler, Aramis Dandoy, Irving (Cotton) Warburton, and not to be forgotten, Marion (Duke) Morrison, better known as John Wayne.

There was also Desmond Koch (pronounced Cook), an excellent punter whose entry into a game was once announced by the play-by-play announcer as: ". . . and here comes Des Kick to do the cooking."

E.H. HART
Pasadena, CA

OUT OF RANGE

THE CAPTION ATTACHED to the photo accompanying Gary Schmitt and Tom Donnelly's "Baghdad is Not Mogadishu" (August 12/August 19), which purports to depict "U.S. Rangers in Somalia," is incorrect.

The men in the photo are Navy SEALs, who, if you recall, landed in Somalia under the glare of a small army of reporters awaiting them on the beach. Their headgear and the waterproof bags hanging from their necks suggest they are SEALs as well. Plus they are all wet. Hopefully, the authors of the article are not.

JONATHAN F. KEILER
Bowie, MD

• • •

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the weekly Standard

Let's See Some ID, Please

President Bush "does not support a national ID card," a White House aide says. And, contrary to popular belief, he's never proposed one, even in the form of national standards for state driver's licenses. The National Strategy for Homeland Security, issued by the White House last April, merely *suggested* states *could* adopt stiffer, uniform standards—not that the president was pushing the idea, mind you. House Majority Leader Dick Armey has twice killed any manner of national ID, most recently by inserting a flat prohibition in the House version of the homeland security bill. Nor is the Senate seriously contemplating a national ID card, even one limited to non-citizens. The homeland security legislation on the Senate floor this week avoids the subject entirely.

Washington has its head in the sand on a national ID, raising again the question of whether the Bush administration and Congress are truly serious about fighting a domestic war on terrorism. The administration opposes arming pilots, a sure deterrent to hijackers (Congress, wisely, may overturn that decision). Ethnic profiling at airports is also outlawed, leaving us with a dysfunctional security system that harasses ordinary passengers without providing real security against terrorists. No, a national ID card isn't the solution to the entire terrorist problem, and a system of ID cards wouldn't be foolproof, though it would be as close to foolproof as is scientifically possible. But it would enhance security enormously, which is all the more urgently needed in the absence of armed pilots and profiling.

How would it help? A national ID card, issued on the basis of serious proof of identity, would do what a driver's license or a Social Security card cannot: provide virtual certainty that the holder is who the card says he is. It would do this through a biometric device—whether based on fingerprints or retinal pattern or, someday, on DNA. If the card holder were in the United States on a visa, the card would expire on the day the visa runs out. Someone here illegally wouldn't have a national ID card in the first place. Such a card would link with criminal record retrieval systems and immigrant or terrorist watch lists. It would be extremely difficult to tamper with. It would replace the practices that made it scandalously easy for the September 11 hijackers to board airplanes in Boston and New York and Washington.

Five of the 19 terrorists had obtained Social Security numbers with false identities, the *Washington Post* reported. The other 14 "probably made up or appropriated other numbers and used them for false identification," the *Post* quoted Social Security officials as saying. What makes Social Security cards so important is that they can be used to obtain driver's licenses, which are all but universally accepted as valid identification. Driver's licenses are notoriously easy to obtain. Some states don't even require Social Security cards. Seven of the hijackers had Virginia state ID cards, despite the fact they lived in Maryland motels. A few months after September 11, federal authorities broke up a Virginia ring that had created hundreds of false IDs for foreigners from Muslim countries. A national ID card would make such fraud immeasurably more difficult to commit, while making it easier for most Americans to go about their business at airports and the multitude of other places where identification is routinely requested.

The major objection to a uniform card is that it curbs our freedom. It does not. It may reduce our privacy, but not much more than has already occurred because of credit cards, bank accounts, electronic toll passes, movie rental cards, car rentals, phone usage, driver's licenses, voter registration, and airline records—all of which are readily available to investigators. And each American has a number we now get at birth and carry through life: our Social Security number. Alan Dershowitz, the Harvard Law professor who favors a voluntary national ID card, concedes there's "a question of the right to anonymity." But he argues cogently that we can't "afford such a right in this age of terrorism" and, besides, the Constitution has never recognized a right to anonymity.

It's a sad fact that much of the opposition to a national ID card comes from conservatives and that the root of that opposition is hard to distinguish from paranoia. Armey, an otherwise sensible conservative, insists a

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national ID card or even national standards for a driver's license are "more suited to a police state than to a free country." When he first blocked a card in 1999, he declared it "a classic victory over Big Brother." Phyllis Schlafly wrote last year, a month after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, that a national ID card smacks of the requirement in totalitarian countries that citizens present "papers" on demand to government officials. This concern is shared by leftist ACLU types and right-wing libertarians. Their fears are misplaced, especially in decentralized and democratic America. "An identity card is not tyranny," as Thomas Donlan of *Barron's* has written. "It is an identity card."

A number of measures that stop short of a national ID card have been proposed. One is a national traveler's card that would be voluntary and would speed legitimate passengers through airports. Republican congressman John Culberson of Texas has offered legislation to create this card. The American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators has called for uniform state driver's licenses. Like a traveler's card, this is a good idea. But neither goes far enough. If a credible, trustworthy system of identification is what's needed—and it surely is—then why stop short of that? The most recent poll shows 70 percent of Americans favor a national ID card. At the moment, the president and a majority in Congress are spooked by a few cranks and ideological groups. They should brush aside essentially frivolous objections and install a national ID system now.

—Fred Barnes, for the Editors

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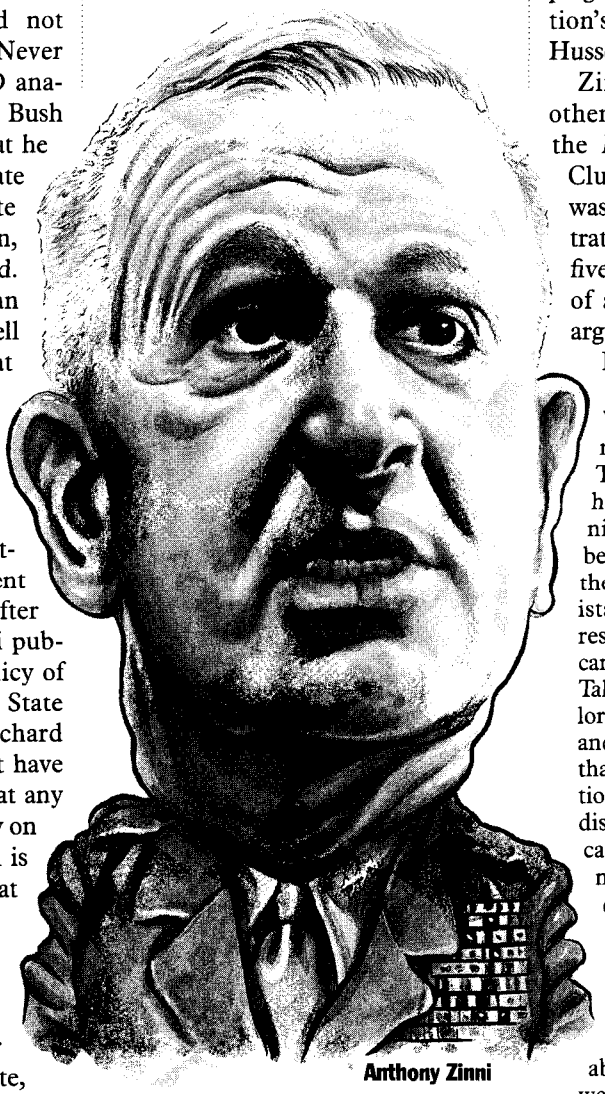
The State Dept. vs. Bush

The administration's Mideast envoy begs to differ about Iraq. BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

WHEN LAURENT MURAWIEC listed the ways Saudi royals have supported terrorists, Secretary of State Colin Powell was quick to assure the Saudi foreign minister that the comments did not reflect administration policy. Never mind that Murawiec, a RAND analyst, had no affiliation with the Bush administration. Never mind that he had shared his views in a private briefing, not at Powell's State Department, but at the Pentagon, for an informal advisory board. State Department spokesman Phil Reeker told the press Powell had assured the Saudis that Murawiec's remarks were merely "the musings of a private individual."

Perhaps because this move successfully defused what could have been an awkward diplomatic situation, the State Department tried it again last week. After retired General Anthony Zinni publicly ripped the president's policy of "regime change" in Iraq, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher told reporters, "I don't have any particular comment on what any private individual has had to say on this topic," adding later, "Zinni is a private citizen, he can say what he wants."

It's a harder sell this time around because Zinni works directly for Powell. Last October, he was named "senior adviser" to the secretary of state, enlisted to work without pay on issues in the Middle East. Since then, he has played a major role in crafting and implementing U.S. policy in the region, making several high profile trips and representing the U.S. government with foreign leaders, though Boucher correctly points out that Zinni's public role has diminished along with the prospects for peace between the Israelis and Palestinians.



Anthony Zinni

Illustration by Drew Friedman

Boucher's task of distancing Powell from the comments of his own senior adviser is impossible, for unlike in the Murawiec case, neither Powell nor Boucher has said anything to contradict the substance of Zinni's remarks. Zinni's patronizing public outburst—an indirect challenge to the leadership of the president and vice president—should have gotten him fired. Powell, however, won't even disavow it. He won't because he can't—he largely shares Zinni's views, and has been an active participant in the not-so-behind-the-scenes campaign to undermine the administration's decision to remove Saddam Hussein.

Zinni's comments came after an otherwise unremarkable speech on the Middle East to the Economic Club of Florida, when the general was asked about the Bush administration's policy toward Saddam. His five-minute response took the form of a rambling list of nearly every argument against regime change in Iraq:

> What are your priorities in the region? That's the first issue. The peace process in my mind has to be a higher priority, winning the war on terrorism has to be a higher priority. More directly, the situation in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia has to be resolved, making sure al Qaeda can't rise again from the ashes, the Taliban cannot come back, the warlords can't gain control over Kabul and Karzai and destroy everything that has happened so far. Our relationships in the region are in major disrepair, not to the point where we can't fix 'em, but we need to quit makin' enemies out of people we don't need to make enemies out of, and we need to fix those relationships. There's a deep chasm that's growing between that part of the world and our part of the world, and it's strange, about a month after 9/11 they were sympathetic and now? How did it happen over the last year, and we need to look at that, that is a higher priority. The country that started all of this, Iran, is about to turn around 180 degrees. . . . And

Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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> I can give you many, many more before you get down to Saddam and Iraq. . . . He'll drag Israel into the war. The mood on the street is very hostile at this moment. It is the wrong time. You could create a backlash to regimes that have been friendly to us. You could create a sense of anti-Arab, anti-Islamic feelings from the West. They could misinterpret the attack. We could end up with collateral damage. You could inherit the country of Iraq, if you want to do it. If our economy is so great that you're willing to put billions of dollars into reforming Iraq. If you want to put soldiers that are already stretched so thin all around the world and add them into a security force there forever, like we see in places like the Sinai. . . . You're going to have to tell me the threat is there, right now. That it's that immediate that it takes a priority over all those things that I just mentioned. And I just hit the tops of the waves there.

Whew!

Needless to say, if Zinni had been, as Boucher suggested, merely a "private citizen," no one would have objected to his public diatribe against administration policy. Neither would anyone have objected if Zinni had argued against the policy in private. But it should be equally obvious that it is entirely inappropriate for him to publicly reject the president's policy while serving the administration.

Zinni himself seemed to concede the point later in his response: "Well, in fairness to President Bush, since I work for him (laughter), I don't get paid though, so it's okay, in fairness to President Bush, President Bush is—he invited the debate."

Beyond the matter of appropriateness, though, there is the issue of substance—especially the suggestion that civilians have no business crafting military policy (though judging from Zinni's blast, it's fine for generals to pronounce on geopolitics). "If you ask me my opinion," Zinni said, "General Scowcroft, General Powell, General Schwarzkopf, General Zinni—we all see this the same way. It might be interesting to wonder that all the generals see this the same way, and all those that never fired a shot in anger are really hell-bent to go to war."

This line of reasoning seems to be gaining currency among those opposed to intervention. Sen. Chuck Hagel, a Vietnam veteran, suggested recently that Pentagon adviser Richard Perle might "like to be in the first wave of those who go into Baghdad." And Richard Armitage, Powell's number two at the State Department, expressed similar sentiments late last month when an Australian journalist asked him about the divide between hawks and "relative doves" in the administration. Said Armitage: "Doesn't it tell you something that the two relative doves [Armitage and Powell], to use your term, are the two that have seen combat?"

Says McCain: "To dismiss opposing views just because some of those who hold them haven't served, frankly, that just should never be a part of the debate. . . . It's a way that people use to close off debate when they may be losing it."

This argument flips the conventional wisdom, that "hawks"—both inside and outside the administration—are the ones seeking to squelch debate on Iraq. But it is largely a media-driven fantasy that the hawks are so irrationally predisposed to war that they just don't have time to discuss the wisdom of their policy prescriptions. Like most journalistic generalizations, this oversimplifies to the point of caricature.

Those who favor Saddam's removal have been patiently making their case

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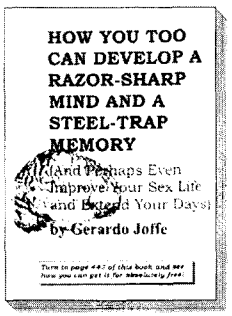

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for years. Many of the same people now pressing President Bush to move against Iraq similarly urged President Clinton to get serious about implementing his own official policy of regime change in Iraq.

For that matter, not every battle-hardened participant in the foreign policy process agrees with Zinni's comments implying that those who have worn the uniform are necessarily the best judge of war and peace. Administration officials who favor a war with Iraq say they're reluctant to get involved in a "your generals versus my generals" contest. But they point to prominent combat veterans such as Alexander Haig, Bob Kerrey, Wayne Downing, and Tom McInerney who support military intervention. Zinni's comments "are a direct contradiction of Clemenceau's statement that 'war is too important to be left to the generals,'" says Senator John McCain, veteran of the Hanoi Hilton. "If civilians can't contribute to the debate, then Lincoln, Roosevelt, Reagan—they all would have been excluded from sharing their views."

General Zinni "has a right to give his views," McCain continues, "and I respect those views even though I don't agree with them. But to dismiss opposing views just because some of those who hold them haven't served, frankly, that just should never be a part of the debate." Why? "It's a way that people use to close off debate when they may be losing it. And they're losing this one." ♦

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Other People's Money

The hypocrisy of the Congressional Black Caucus. BY JAKE TAPPER

WHEN A TV CAMERA was shoved in the face of Georgia state representative Billy McKinney on August 20—the night that his daughter, Rep. Cynthia McKinney, lost her Democratic primary race—he spewed venom like a challenged cobra. Asked about the fact that former Atlanta mayor Andrew Young had withheld his support from McKinney's campaign, he replied, "That ain't nothing. That's nothing. Jews have bought everybody. Jews." If that were somehow too subtle, McKinney spelled it out: "Jay, Eee, Double-U, Esssss," he hissed.

Billy McKinney's lip is nothing new. In 1996, after making an anti-Semitic comment, he was forced to resign from his daughter's campaign—and she's no slouch herself when it comes to asinine babbling. What's more surprising is that his sentiments, if not his language, are being echoed by black politicians who should know better.

"I've been receiving angry calls from black voters all day saying they should rally against Jewish candidates," Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas told the *Miami Herald* after McKinney's defeat. Johnson, chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, said that blacks were concerned about Jews "from around the country putting millions into a race to unseat one of our leaders for expressing her right of free speech." She told the *Washington Post* that "at the grass roots," there is a growing perception that "Jewish people are attempting to pick our leaders."

Jake Tapper is a reporter and commentator in New York City.

These comments have not endeared her to some of her white colleagues. "These are still, at the end of the day, black voters who are making the decisions, and black candidates getting elected, so I guess I'm not buying the whole 'gullible' argument, that whole congressional districts can be hoodwinked," says one Democratic congressman who asked not to be named. "Frankly, that doesn't speak very highly of Ms. Johnson's perceptions of those constituents."

It certainly doesn't. But forget for a moment that Cynthia McKinney lost to an impressive candidate, African-American former judge Denise Majette, who took a full 58 percent of the vote. Ignore if you will that McKinney alienated a significant number of upwardly mobile black voters—who were embarrassed by her speculation that President Bush had allowed the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon so that his father's defense industry stocks would go up. Consider instead the issue of individuals of a particular ethnic group making financial contributions to support—or defeat—a politician from another area.

Johnson, after all, is not necessarily wrong in her essential observation: Jews from around the country did give thousands of dollars to Majette, because they found McKinney offensive. In the same way, Arab and Muslim Americans from around the country gave thousands of dollars to McKinney—whom they presumably perceive as representing their interests. McKinney raised $700,000, much of it from out-of-state Arab and Muslim Americans; Majette raised $1.3 million, much of it from out-of-

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state Jews. This same dynamic played out earlier this year in Alabama, with a young, impressive, black former prosecutor named Artur Davis defeating another congressional Israel-basher, the ethically challenged Rep. Earl Hilliard. As the race heated up, a pro-Hilliard flyer of mysterious origin accused Davis, a Baptist, of being too close to Jews. "Mr. Davis must simply understand that Jews the world over have never come to the aid of black or dark skin [sic] people because it was the right thing to do."

But the flyer couldn't have been more wrong—at least in terms of Jewish donors all over the country coming to the aid of black or dark-skinned political candidates. Congresswoman Johnson's comments are breathtakingly hypocritical. A hardy perennial of the last decade's campaign finance reform debates was a proposal that candidates should have to raise at least half, if not more, of their funding from within their congressional districts. Time and again, Democratic congressional leaders, prodded by the Congressional Black Caucus, ensured the demise of such proposals. Why? So black candidates could continue to raise money from New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago, home to the most reliable of liberal Democratic political contributors, a disproportionate number of whom are—yes, that's right—Jews.

House Speaker Tom Foley spelled it out pretty clearly in a speech at the National Press Club in September 1993, when the issue was just starting to percolate. Questioning whether "limiting contributions to within the state or inside the district" was a legitimate reform, Foley suggested that such a move "often is a great benefit to incumbents and a limitation to challengers." Foley went on to say that "women and minorities" in particular "could in many cases not have been elected without the contributions that come from concerned citizens outside that immediate district or state."

In the mid-1990s, as Republican Christopher Shays of Connecticut and Democrat Marty Meehan of

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Massachusetts began offering their first campaign finance reform efforts, an outside-the-district contribution limit was one of their central tenets. But as Shays and Meehan's googoo ideals morphed into legislative realpolitik, they realized pretty quickly that Democrats would never support their efforts if they clung to that provision, because so many black members of Congress considered such money essential to their survival. During the House debate on Shays-Meehan in July 1998, Meehan admitted that the bill would die if it included an amendment limiting contributions from outsiders in congressional campaigns. Shays later told me that the concept was one that he "could support. I get 96-plus percent of my money from in-state. But urban members don't get 50 percent of their contributions from within state."

Indeed, Reps. McKinney, Hilliard, and Johnson all voted in 1998 against an amendment that would require 50 percent of a candidate's cash to come from "local individual residents." They did so again in September 1999, when the same proposal came up for a vote and was defeated again. "Let us be very clear," Rep. Barney Frank said at the time. "Money and ethnicity are sometimes correlated. And if we now tell African-American candidates in the South . . . that the money has to be raised in-state, we are putting minority candidates at a significant disadvantage. Because we know as a fact that wealth is not equally distributed, and we put ethnic minority candidates at a disadvantage." Urging a no vote, Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones, an African American from Ohio, suggested that a "commission be appointed to study the impact this provision would have on the ability of Members to raise sufficient funds when they represent low-income, border, and minority districts."

A senior Senate staffer who spent much of the 1990s working on getting campaign finance reform passed says that members of the Congressional Black Caucus were "always very vocal that they had to have the ability to raise money not only from outside their district but outside their state. It wasn't just the CBC members, but they were the loudest voices." Headed to New York City and Los Angeles, these Democrats "are looking for liberal Democratic money, and in many cases that is Jewish." The issue wasn't even much mentioned when the House and Senate took up the cause of the bills in the past year. It was a non-starter.

Cynthia McKinney

Erik S. Lesser / Getty Images

Since the New Deal, Jews have voted for Democrats in presidential and congressional races at a rate of roughly 80 percent. One Democratic operative slams Johnson's remarks since so many members of the CBC, "especially the old guard" like Reps. Charles Rangel of New York and John Lewis of Georgia, have decades-long ties "with the Jewish community" and "lean heavily on the Jewish community" for money.

"When 'Jewish money' flooded in to [New York congressman] Major Owens, who had never had any success fund-raising, when he faced a tough primary in 2000 against a Caribbean-American city councilman, I didn't hear a lot of people complaining," the Democratic congressman says. "He was supported by like-minded Democrats, but believe me they weren't all from East Flatbush and Brownsville."

No one keeps exact public tabs on such a thing—and money thankfully doesn't come with special earmarks delineating a contributor's race or religion—but knowledgeable insiders speculate that at least half of the individual contributions made to the Democratic party, and a third of those to the Republicans, come from Jews. Those numbers may be overstated—and they don't take PAC, corporate, or union largesse into account—but certainly Jews give political money and vote in numbers disproportionate to their share of the population. And much of this money is going to black candidates. In fact, Artur Davis and Denise Majette were just following a tried-and-true script. One followed, it might be observed, by most of the members of the Congressional Black Caucus now griping about McKinney's defeat, like Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson.

"I was upset by her remarks," notes one Jewish contributor who does not live in Texas and who has given generously to Johnson in the past. "I like Eddie a lot; she's a very nice person. But the comments were inappropriate." No one would ever criticize an African American who decided "he wanted to defeat a white candidate who had said inflammatory things about the aspirations of African Americans or Africans," as this man feels McKinney did about Jews and Israelis.

The donor says he even thought about giving Johnson a call, talking to her about her remarks, but then he realized his opinion would probably be superfluous. "Eddie has lots of Jewish friends," he says. "She doesn't need me to say anything." ♦

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Rumsfeld the Radical

Fighting a war and transforming the military at the same time. BY TOM DONNELLY

PARALYZED BY AN ALL-IRAQ, all-war, all-the-time fever (not to mention a desperate opposition to the possibility of said war), the media managed to miss one of the central stories of President Bush's Crawford vacation: the administration's emerging plan to remake the structure of U.S. military forces.

Yes, defense "transformation" is about to rise from the grave, revitalized by the sweeping changes in American and international politics caused by the events of last September 11. And what appears to be a normal turning of the bureaucratic wheel—the preparation of the 2004 defense budget request—stands every chance of heralding a profound reengineering of the Pentagon and the armed services. The meeting at the Crawford ranch was to rehearse the scope of defense program and budgetary changes, and the political storm that might result.

This is a complete reversal of the situation one year ago, before September 11. Back then, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's mission to transform the U.S. military to exploit the "revolution in military affairs"—particularly the effects of information technologies on the art and science of warfare—had ground to an inglorious halt. The military services had successfully dominated the 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review process. This had the effect of sharply limiting the prospects for reform; the service chiefs could rightly point out that preparing for the future was at odds with preserving the peace today. The defense budget could not support all the programs needed for a smooth transition. And Rumsfeld was widely expected to be the first cabinet casualty of the Bush administration.

But the wartime urgency generated in the wake of the September 11 attacks shattered the status quo. Rumsfeld emerged as a dynamic "secretary of war"—a charismatic figure in a time of crisis—and he now has an opportunity to be a great secretary of defense, to reshape the military establishment. And it appears he has learned the lessons of his initial failure.

First, Rumsfeld has seized the bureaucratic initiative, making subtle but key personnel changes. He hasn't fired any generals, but he has shifted some of those most opposed to change. For example, he has all but named Gen. John Keane as the next Army chief of staff. Keane is a paratrooper by trade (who at a transformation conference this past week declared that the Army had bought its last main battle tank), and Keane knows he will be judged by his ability to change his army. Similarly, retired Vice Admiral Arthur Cebrowski, whose idea of a smaller "streetfighter" warship has now been enshrined as the Navy's Littoral Combat Ship program, has returned to lead the Pentagon-wide "office of force transformation."

Perhaps even more important, Rumsfeld has made Dr. Steven Cambone the head of analysis and evaluation, bringing him directly into the budgeting and programming process. Fairly or not, Cambone has long been viewed as Rumsfeld's henchman, almost universally loathed—but more important, feared—by the services. The message is that, this time, Rumsfeld will get what he wants.

Rumsfeld has also learned from his success in terminating the Crusader howitzer program that the political price of change is far less than originally feared. The vaunted array of Crusader supporters in the Army and on Capitol Hill collapsed rapidly and completely once the decision was reached. In a time of war, congressional resistance to executive energy on national defense issues proved—surprise!—difficult to build or sustain.

The services are thus bracing themselves for big changes to come. Over the next few weeks, decisions on a wide variety of programs will be made as the process of budget preparation nears its conclusion. While the figures are still to be reckoned and rationalized, it's clear that lots of major weapons projects are in jeopardy, from the Army's Comanche helicopter to the Navy's F/A-18 Hornet, the Air Force's F-22, and the Marines' V-22 Osprey. Even if none is cancelled outright, the number of each to be bought would be severely limited. As one insider puts it, "Rumsfeld is determined to clear away some tall timber to allow for new growth."

Also on the plate are personnel cuts. Through the summer, the defense trade press has been filled with predictions of dramatic force cuts in the Army. While the actual numbers may be smaller, it does look as though there will be real reductions: In his cover letter transmitting the Navy's budget memo to Rumsfeld, Navy Secretary Gordon England proposes a cut of 8,500 active-duty sailors in 2004 and promises more to come in future budget years.

Even the Bush administration's ambitious plans for missile defenses are in line for reorganization, with the emphasis probably shifting to space- and sea-based efforts, along with some greater effort to expand (or at least preserve) international participation in missile defense through the so-called MEADS program. The losers could be the more mature current systems like the PAC-3 version of the Patriot missile.

Tom Donnelly is senior fellow at the Project for the New American Century.

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These sorts of decisions, while revealing new energy in Rumsfeld's leadership and a fresh opportunity to introduce new ideas and weaponry into U.S. forces, also reflect the money problems that still hamper the transformation project. As England wrote, "It is evident that we cannot rely on topline growth alone to buy down future risk." That's Pentagonese meaning: "There's not enough money to do all the things we should." Engaging in a transformation of the military—in addition to fighting a war—will require repeated, substantial increases in the defense budget. It's not yet clear the administration is willing to commit to this.

Indeed, much of this year's highly touted defense increase will be consumed by the operational costs of the war on terrorism and the proper accounting of past expenses. As England admits, "It is important to recognize that over $6 billion of the $17 billion increase in [the Navy's] budget relative to what was projected from the prior administration has gone not to manpower costs, current readiness, transformation, or recapitalization, but to accounting changes that expense future retirement and health costs in the current period." In other words, more than a third of the increase did nothing to improve U.S. combat power directly, either today or in the future.

So, even though Bush and Rumsfeld have regained the initiative on transformation, big hurdles lie ahead. The 2004 budget won't go to Congress until next February, by which time Iraq-war fever may reach a still higher temperature. It's hard to say how that will influence the politics of defense spending. But cancelling or even capping a big aircraft program will be much more controversial than killing the Crusader, which, at a few hundred million dollars a year, amounted to no more than a rounding error in defense budget terms. And over the next few weeks, as program decisions are made and leaked, even the media may notice the changes afoot in the Pentagon; what was done at Crawford could come undone in Washington. ♦

And the Bandar Played On

. . . but the Saudi tune is getting stale.

BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

DOWN ON THE RANCH in Crawford last week, President Bush had another courteous chat with a Saudi prince. The guest this time was Riyadh's ambassador, Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdul Aziz, who had come with his family all the way from Washington just for lunch.

Some Beltway spin artists, alarmed at the prospect of removing Saddam Hussein from Baghdad, are pleased at the sight of Bush's solicitude for the Saudi royals. Yet we ought to be increasingly suspicious of "our Saudi ally." The only hint about the content of the Crawford meeting was an indication that the president had raised the continuing scandal of female American citizens held against their will in the Arabian kingdom (see "Held Hostage in Riyadh," THE WEEKLY STANDARD, August 5, 2002). Bandar gave some assurance that the issue would be resolved.

Plainly, the whole encounter was all too polite. A year has passed since September 11 and the Saudis have yet to provide us with an investigation of their subjects' involvement in the atrocities of that day. Bush should have made this the topic of a major wood-shedding. When the Saudis claim they too are under attack from al Qaeda, and that they must therefore proceed with caution in supporting the campaign against terror, few in the West, for some reason, see the contradiction. If the Saudi rulers are targets of al Qaeda, that should be an incentive for more, not less, cooperation with the United States.

According to Saudi dissidents, Riyadh's reluctance to move against al Qaeda has less to do with fear of Osama bin Laden than with panic that a full investigation would reveal the extent of complicity in September 11 by members of the royal family. The reactionary wing of the family, known as the Sudairi seven, includes King Fahd and his six brothers, among them the defense minister, Prince Sultan (father of ambassador Bandar), and the interior minister, Prince Nayef. (Crown Prince Abdullah is outside the group of seven.)

In November the regime pardoned and freed a former assistant to bin Laden, Abdul-Rahman al-Surahi, 42, who was arrested in 1996 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Simultaneously with Bandar's meeting in Crawford, Saudi media announced that Saud Abdul Aziz Al-Rashid, 21, named by U.S. authorities as a dangerous member of al Qaeda, would be released from Saudi custody. He was interrogated and "cleared" by Riyadh with no opportunity for U.S. investigators to examine him. Hundreds of Saudis who went home from Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban have returned to private life, with no evidence that Riyadh cares what involvement they may have had with the extremist regime in Kabul or with al Qaeda.

The Sudairi seven—Defense Minister Sultan and his son, Ambassador Bandar, in particular—can't change their habits. They will not learn to treat American citizens on their soil

Stephen Schwartz is senior policy analyst at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies in Washington. His book The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud From Tradition to Terror *is forthcoming from Doubleday.*

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with the respect due, and they will not agree to deal with their own citizens who are under suspicion with the proper thoroughness. They will not adopt a posture of transparency to combat terrorism. And they will not stop protecting Saddam Hussein, who keeps Shiite Iran in check—conveniently for the Saudis, ever nervous about the restive Shiites who make up a majority of the population in the eastern oil-producing region of Saudi Arabia.

The typical pattern of Saudi behavior was on display in Bandar's flight to Crawford, as it had been in Crown Prince Abdullah's visit a few months back. When Abdullah flew to see Bush, his pilots refused to work with Federal Aviation Administration air traffic controllers who were female. When Bandar winged in, it turned out his pilots had neglected to file adequate flight documentation. U.S. fighter jets scrambled to accompany his plane, which had to land in Colorado for an inspection before proceeding to Texas.

In both incidents, the moral is the same: Saudi princes traveling in their private jets don't feel they need to comply with U.S. air regulations. They are above our law.

Bush may have called Bandar's attention to the rising American chorus of condemnation of the Saudis, but much more needs to be done. A demand that the Saudis provide a full, public, transparent accounting of their involvement in September 11 should be non-negotiable. And our citizens' right to leave Saudi Arabia when they wish should be guaranteed.

The requirement that the Saudi monarchy, like Spain after Franco's death and Moscow under Gorbachev, cease official funding of an extremist ideological apparatus should also be beyond discussion. Further, the president should make it clear that Saudi sabotage will not deter the United States from pursuing regime change in Iraq or otherwise promoting democracy in the Muslim world.

One thing is certain: The Saudi problem cannot be ameliorated by social visits between Saudi princes

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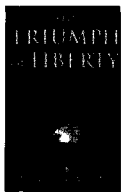

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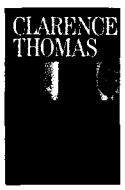

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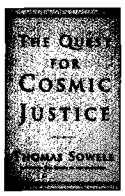

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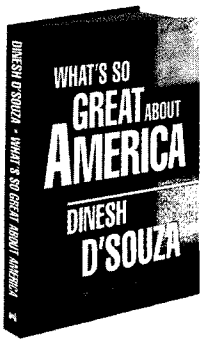

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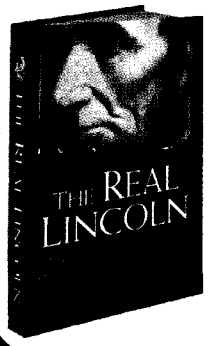

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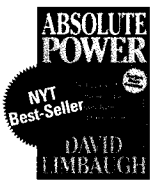

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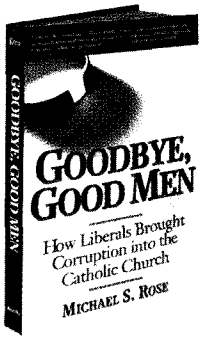

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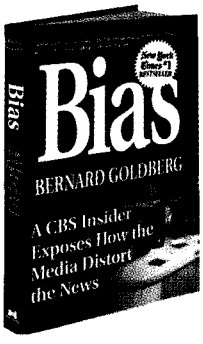

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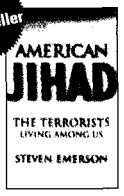

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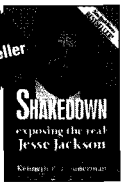

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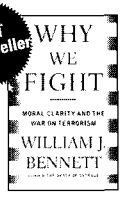

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and the president. More to the point is Rep. Dan Burton's bipartisan delegation of six congressmen (including the independent Bernie Sanders of Vermont) heading to the kingdom to "discuss American citizens who have been kidnapped and held against their will."

Throughout the current crisis of Saudi-American relations, it has been obvious that neither the Saudis nor their Western apologists have a clue how to respond. Not long ago FBI director Robert Mueller, regrettably, spoke at the national convention of the American Muslim Council, a leading front for radical Islamist apologetics. Next week that debacle may be replayed: The National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations (NCUSAR) has scheduled a mammoth parley in Washington for the weekend before the anniversary of September 11, to discuss the aftermath of that day's atrocities.

NCUSAR has announced that General Tommy Franks will speak at the meeting, alongside naysayers on Iraq and whitewashers of Saudi extremism. The worst of these to be listed on the program is Ahmad Turkistani, director of the Institute for Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America (IIASA). Based in Fairfax, Virginia, IIASA is an affiliate of the Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud University in Riyadh. It trains imams to staff mosques on American soil, and embodies pure Wahhabism, the Islamofascism that is the official dispensation in the Saudi kingdom.

The IIASA is also an official Saudi distribution center for literature that includes books and pamphlets inciting violence against Ashari (non-Wahhabi) Sunni Muslims, Shiites, Jews, and Christians. Saudi dissidents have called on American authorities to investigate the abuse of diplomatic credentials by Saudi officials involved in IIASA as a preliminary to closing down the institute.

Another speaker scheduled to appear at NCUSAR's event is Khaled Saffuri, an associate of Republican insider Grover Norquist, who will comment on the influence of think tanks on U.S.-Arab relations. Other sessions will air arguments aimed at denying the association between Wahhabism and violence, of which the last year's murders—of Christians and Shiites in Pakistan, missionaries in the Philippines, and the 3,000 victims of September 11—are only the latest examples.

What in the world is Gen. Franks doing at such a gathering? Unfortunately, its corporate sponsors include ExxonMobil, ChevronTexaco, Saudi Aramco, Conoco, Boeing, Lockheed Martin, General Dynamics, Raytheon, and Northrop Grumman.

The time is fast approaching when the affairs of the Saudi kingdom and the business of the United States will have to be separated. Better sooner than later. ♦

Michael Ramirez

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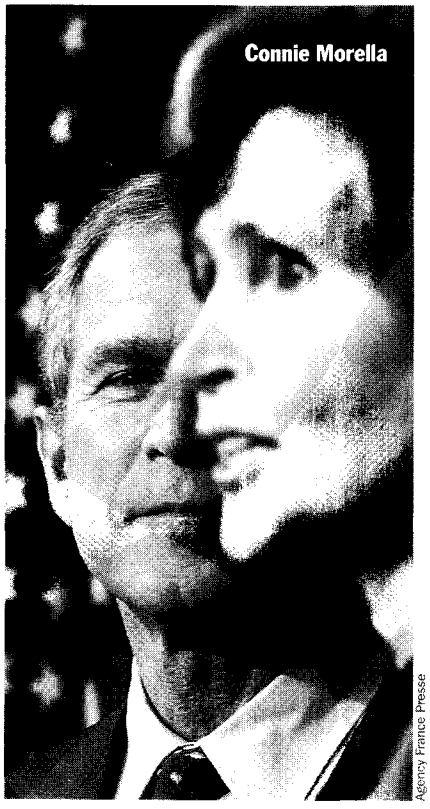
Rep. Morella, R-Barely

Bush's pro-choice, pro-gun control friend in the House. BY SONNY BUNCH

REP. CONNIE MORELLA of Maryland is the least typical Republican in the House of Representatives. She's pro-choice, pro-gun control, pro-campaign finance reform, anti-missile defense, and that's just for starters. She voted against seven of the ten planks of Newt Gingrich's Contract With America. Had the 2000 presidential election been thrown into the House, Morella announced she would have voted for Al Gore since her district overwhelmingly backed him. Yet President Bush hosted a fund-raiser for her this summer, lauding her in understated fashion as an "independent soul." Why? Republicans may need to retain her seat to hold the House, now in their control by a scant seven votes.

Morella has three distinctions as a GOP House member. She's probably the most liberal Republican in Congress, the Senate included. She represents the most Democratic-leaning district now held by a Republican (it covers the affluent Montgomery County suburbs of Washington, D.C.). And she's regarded by both Democratic and GOP officials as the most vulnerable Republican incumbent in the 2002 midterm election cycle. Morella's district already tilted Democratic, but reapportionment by Maryland's Democratic legislature this year transformed it into a district that went 66 percent for Gore in 2000.

This isn't the first time Democrats have targeted Morella, first elected in 1986. She easily turned back challengers until 2000, when she beat Democrat Terry Lerman by only 4 percentage points. That outcome plus partisan redistricting has prompted a swarm of prominent Democrats to enter the race to oust Morella. Among them: state representative Mark Shriver, son of Sargent and Eunice Shriver and a Kennedy cousin. He's raised more than $2.3 million, more than half of it from out of state, just in his bid for the Democratic nomination. Other candidates include Ira Shapiro, a top trade official in the Clinton administration, and state senator Christopher Van Hollen Jr., a former Capitol Hill aide who has raised $1.1 million. The primary is September 10.


Connie Morella

Agency France Presse

Despite Democratic excitement, Morella is hardly at death's door in her reelection effort. The district, at least the core of it, has been hospitable to moderate or liberal Republicans for decades, starting with the election of Charles Mathias (later a U.S. senator) in the 1950s. He was followed by Republicans Gilbert Gude and Newton Steers. Morella is a slightly more liberal version of her predecessors. When asked why she remains a Republican in an increasingly Democratic district, Morella says she brings moderation to the Republican party and helps keep the two-party system alive in Maryland. She insists the legislature's attempt to gerrymander her out of a congressional seat is the result of the "tyranny of a one-party system" in Maryland.

Morella has several political strengths. One is the difficulty her Democratic foes face in laying a glove on her. There are few issues they can use against her since she so often votes with Democrats in Congress. One exception is her vote for the Bush tax cut in 2001. Nonetheless, Shriver decries her supposed ties to big business, and Van Hollen said Bush's appearance at her fund-raiser was a "political quid pro quo" for her support on a prescription drug plan. Another strength is her constituent service. Morella prides herself on personally handling even tiny issues on which constituents need help. Her approval rating among voters in her newly configured district hovers around 70 percent.

The fundamental issue in the Morella race, however, is control of the House. Shriver's campaign slogan is "Working to restore a Democratic Congress." And it will be hard for Democrats to achieve this without knocking off Morella. Private polls show her running surprisingly strong for another term, but that was before a Democratic nominee emerged. Absent a national issue driving the election and working against Republicans, her chances are 50-50 or slightly better, not bad for an incumbent running in Gore country with a bull's-eye on her back. ♦

Sonny Bunch is an intern at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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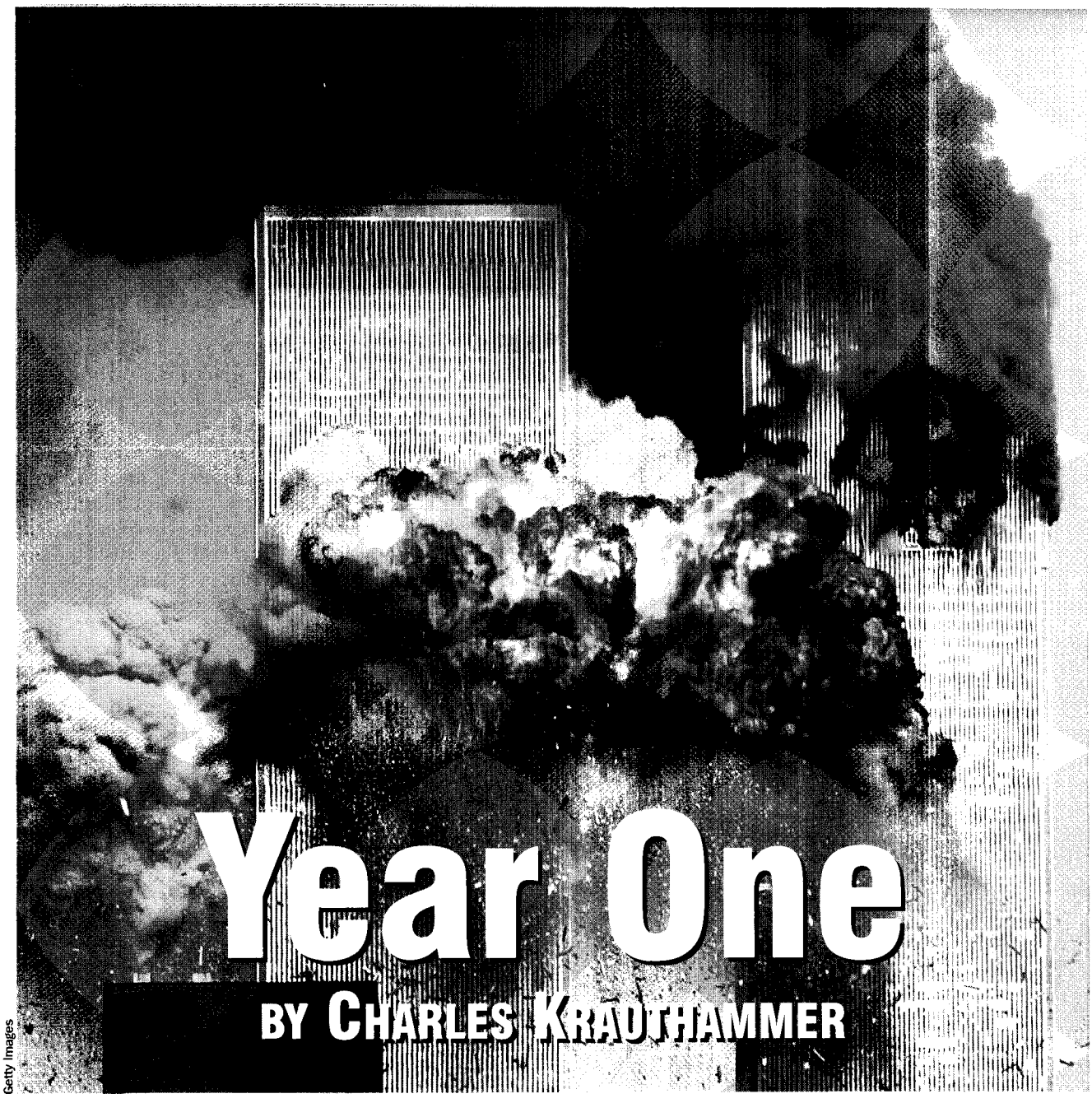

Getty Images

Year One

BY CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

We didn't change after all. Things changed, yes. Flags waved. A president emerged. The economy slid. The enemy scattered. Politics cooled. The allies rallied. The allies chafed. Politics returned.

But *we* didn't change. We thought we would. After the shock of the bolt from the blue, it was said that we would never be the same. That it was the end of irony. That the pose of knowing detachment with which we went to bed September 10 was gone for good.

Not so. Before the first year was out, it was back, all of it. Irony. Triviality. Vulgarity. Frivolousness. Whimsy. Farce. All the things no healthy society can live without.

Charles Krauthammer is a contributing editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

We returned to normality. No, not the "new normality," that state of suspended apprehension that followed the first weeks of shock and fear. The new normality dissipated into the ether with amazing speed. During its brief few months of existence, it seemed reasonable to deputize the postman and the milkman and the cable guy to snoop around your house looking for suspicious characters. Today that TIPS program seems slightly loony, as it should to true normality.

True normality. Can you doubt it is back when the culture king of 2002 is Ozzy Osbourne, now locked with Anna Nicole Smith in a race to the cultural bottom? It's all back: reality TV, Geraldo on the scene, *Sex and the City*, and every sequel known to man: *Austin Powers*, *Stuart Little*, *Men in Black*, and Yoda, flying no less.

Last year's summer tizzy was shark attacks. After

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September 11, it seemed absurdly, self-indulgently trivial. After a real catastrophe, we'd not succumb again to media-manufactured scares. We wouldn't? This summer it is the child kidnapping epidemic, an invention of insatiable 24-hour cable news (there has been no increase in incidence, just coverage) catering to our perennial need for a fright-of-the-season.

As for irony, it is back by the shovelful. Of course, there was the decent interval during which Jay Leno would look plaintively at the audience after a gag that fell flat and say, "What do you expect? I can't do any 'stupid Bush' jokes anymore." Now, not a night goes by without a "stupid Bush" joke. Reverence for a sitting president is unnatural, abnormal. It couldn't last. It shouldn't. It didn't.

Perhaps we should have known a year ago. After all, no one speaks of the American character having been changed by Pearl Harbor. True, the war changed America, catalyzing technological advance, internal migration, and the emancipation of women and minorities. But those were the products of four years of war, not of one day of infamy. They were the residue of exertion, not of shock.

National character does not change in a day. September 11 did not alter the American character, it merely revealed it. It allowed—it forced—the emergence of a bedrock America of courage, resolve, resourcefulness, and, above all, resilience. What the enemy did not know (nor at that time did we, fully) was that beneath the shallowness and the triviality, the outward normality of America in post-Cold War repose, lay the sleeping giant that Admiral Yamamoto knew he had awakened on December 7, 1941, and that Osama bin Laden had no inkling he had awakened on September 11, 2001.

The world then witnessed an astonishing demonstration of resilience, the kind only a nation of continental size and prodigious productivity, of successful self-government and self-conscious spirituality could summon. The financial system, a target of the September 11 attack, was up and running within six days. The Pentagon never even shut down. An army of volunteers working 24 hours a day had ground zero ready for remembrance and reconstruction months before anyone expected. After anthrax, and the inevitable initial confusion, we were turning out antibodies against the new warfare as remorselessly as we turned out Liberty ships in World War II: mountains of antibiotics, tens of millions of doses of smallpox vaccine, new protocols, new training, new surveillance.

Most impressively, within weeks we had invented a new kind of warfare. A man on horseback guides bombs from a B-2 flying in from (and returning to) Missouri. The enemy—hardened and ready, girded and gloating, eager to bleed us in the fabled graveyard of empires—runs for his life, shattered.

The real story of the year since September 11 is the shoe that never dropped. At home and abroad, everyone thought it would. In the first weeks after the attack, people were afraid to fly, to move. Yet the second blow never came. That does not mean it never will. But how many predicted that we would go a year unscathed? How many thought that sheer resolve, fearsome technology, heightened vigilance, brute force, and a dragnet stretching from Yemen to the Philippines would make the jihadists the hunted and give us a year of respite?

The respite will not last if we simply look back with satisfaction on our initial resilience. The respite will not last if we see September 11 as just the anniversary of a tragedy, a remembrance of the fallen, a celebration of a day of courage. It was all that, of course. But it was much more.

The respite will not last if we simply look back with satisfaction on our initial resilience. The respite will not last if we see September 11 as just the anniversary of a tragedy, a remembrance of the fallen, a celebration of a day of courage. It was all that, of course. But it was much more. It was the opening salvo of the Great War of the 21st century, against an enemy as barbaric as any faced during the 20th.

This September 11 marks not just a day of infamy, but the close of Year One of that war. And to win it we will need to demonstrate—as we did in the other great wars of necessity—patience, endurance, determination, and a willingness to bear any burden.

That is a solemn calling, but it need not elicit grim solemnity. Success will require that both sides of the American character—the visible fluff and the (once) buried steel—remain in play. Last September 11, we thought that the one must banish the other. The great lesson, the great triumph, of Year One is that fury and grit did not drive out lightness and laughter. And a good thing too. To prevail in this long twilight struggle, we will need them all. ♦

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ADVERTISEMENT

Triumph Over Terror September 11, 2001

Long memory's other self is what's not forgotten. To countless minds, therefore, what evil transpired that early morning, September 11, 2001 will, forever, seem like only yesterday.

On that, at first terrible then triumphant day, a fledgling sun, upon orders from Heaven, set out upon a maiden voyage all across America to its destination, the far horizon in the distant West. With consummate grace the sun lazed along high above Manhattan Island's southern tip. There in its majesty stood the World Trade Center and its magnificent Twin Towers.

In the sky, high above that place of approaching martyrdom, the morning, being clear and cloudless, Heaven allowed the young sun to linger till the count of ten. So fascinated was the sun by the two giant towers just below, that it paused another second, counting to eleven.

Then, at that very moment, the bloodthirsty terrorists struck their cowardly, mortal blow.

Bewildered at first, Heaven said to its brightest star, "Continue on, my sun. Stay the course. Be calm. The moon, your elder sister, anxiously awaits you on the far horizon still far away on to the West."

The sun obeyed. Suddenly, it looked down upon the horror that leveled a portion of the Pentagon, slaughtering many dedicated workers in the process. Almost in the same breath, the sun looking down, while passing overhead, followed, with burning eyes the fatal trajectory of a plane filled with innocent passengers. It plowed into the virgin soil of a ravished Pennsylvania.

Toward evening, on this same September day, the weary, woeful sun reached its termination. It settled comfortably, safe and sound upon the far horizon.

On her usual way and to her nightly vigil, the rising moon stopped by to talk with her younger brother, the now exhausted sun. Tired from its just completed sad and anxious journey all across America, the sun welcomed his sister. She recounted the details of the terrible sequence of events leaving behind deep wounds on this dreadful day.

A little later the moon pointed up toward Paradise. She told the sun all about the new cluster of twinkling stars that were now another just born galaxy. She further said that each one stood for some lost loved one slain in the morning only to rise in the evening, now found again to revel in another even more joyous environment.

With a soft white cloud for a pillow, the moon's younger brother, the sun, stretched out upon the far horizon serving as its bed. The moon slowly bent over. She gently kissed her brother's cheek. His eyes closed, the setting sun smiled after his devoted, departing sister. Then, in minutes, she was surrounded by her new friends, the twinkling stars.

Never out of sight, always within hearing distance, the moon called down to her younger brother just before he fell asleep. "God's in His heaven, all's right with the world."

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Free at Last

What will happen as large numbers of ex-cons are released from prison?

By Eli Lehrer

Joe Arpaio, sheriff of Maricopa County, Arizona, has some interesting ideas about running prisons: His inmates sleep in tents in the desert, work on chain gangs when they misbehave, wear pink underwear, and eat green baloney sandwiches that cost less than dog food. Smoking, skin mags, and coffee are banned. Cellblock televisions show nothing but educational programs and weather reports. As Arpaio is fond of saying, the Maricopa prison system, which serves the city of Phoenix, runs on the principle of "zero tolerance for the criminal element."

Yet if the effectiveness of punishment is judged by its ability to stop people from repeating bad behavior, Arpaio's vastly popular efforts (he has an 85 percent approval rating with local voters) haven't been a huge success. While Arpaio has been an excellent law enforcer and runs an effective anti-drug program in his correctional system, a 1998 Arizona State University study commissioned by the sheriff himself found that his trademark harsh measures had no effect on recidivism.

It's difficult to argue with Arpaio's desire to punish prisoners: Most people behind bars have done terrible things. But today's prisons—even supposedly tough ones like those in Maricopa County—do little to break criminals of the behavior that got them into trouble in the first place. All around America, just-released thugs step off of Greyhound buses and pick up their criminal careers where they left off. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, over 70 percent of robbers and nearly 80 percent of car thieves commit the same crimes again within three years of release. Overall, two-thirds of ex-cons are re-arrested within two years of release. Charles Colson, the former Nixon aide who founded the Prison Fellowship, sums up the situation best: "Instead of rehabilitating offenders, [the correctional system] debilitates them."

Eli Lehrer, a senior editor at the American Enterprise, works on the Heritage Foundation's Excellence in Policing Project along with former Attorney General Edwin Meese III.

Almost 600,000 people (an all-time record) left prison in 2001. The flip side of the growing prison populations of the last two decades—the incarceration rate more than tripled between 1980 and 2000—will be a growing number of released prisoners in the decade ahead. Their future is not bright. "The people being released from prison today are, on the whole, disconnected from their communities and have spent longer times behind bars," says Jeremy Travis, an Urban Institute fellow who studies prisoner reentry.

As Travis and others point out, increased numbers of released criminals don't translate directly into rising crime rates. America's prisons released more prisoners every year in the past decade, as crime rates entered their sharpest dive on record. Crime is lower than it has been since the mid-1960s. But a return to the level of civic peace our grandparents enjoyed will require a serious effort to cut recidivism.

Some tough-sounding moves actually make things easier on criminals. Abolishing parole—a quick and dirty route to longer sentences that many state legislatures followed in the 1980s—often made things worse. Thanks to time off for "good behavior," prisoners can still get out after serving a fraction of their sentences. Time-off policies, in any case, simply require prisoners to avoid insubordination, violence, and theft while in prison. Parole requires that prisoners actually improve themselves through educational programs and work.

While more research remains to be done, states like Vermont that have retained traditional parole *do* have slightly lower recidivism rates than the rest of the country. Rather than abolishing parole, it might have been better for states to increase sentences honestly. After all, letting a prisoner know that he can get out after two years of a six-year sentence if he earns an associate's degree is better for him and society at large than having him slack off and be released for "good behavior" after serving half of a "no parole" four-year sentence.

So if many supposedly tough policies don't work as advertised, what does? There's no pat answer—society is best off if some offenders live out their lives behind bars—but, since over 90 percent of those now incarcerat-

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ed will eventually get out, breaking prisoners of their bad habits should be the priority.

The best single lesson for prison reform comes from the great social policy success of the last decade: welfare reform. Since 1996, welfare policy in most states has focused on getting welfare recipients to work. Even before reforms actually went into effect, men and women on the dole began scrambling for jobs. Since 1996, welfare rolls have declined by more than half and, just as important, members of the nation's underclass acquired the disciplined habits of working-class America. They learned how to be on time, take direction from bosses, and dress suitably for work. As productive wage earners rather than beneficiaries of state largess, they also earned a well-deserved measure of self-respect.

What worked for the largely female population of welfare recipients can also work for the largely male population of prison inmates. "The work ethic is part of mainstream America," says Charlie Sullivan, a former Catholic priest who is the executive director of Citizens United for the Rehabilitation of Errants, a left-leaning grass-roots group that promotes opportunities for prisoners to work. "When you can provide opportunities to work you can have prisoners learn what the rest of society does every day. They can begin to become breadwinners and help keep their families together rather than tearing them apart."

Work programs are effective. An Urban Institute literature review from May 2002 found that prisoners who work in paid jobs for 18 months or more do almost as well as those who do significant college level work. This is a surprising outcome since most prisoners can barely read when they enter the clink and only a small, highly motivated bunch can do college work. While the benefits of education are significant, it's much harder to force prisoners to learn than it is to force them to work. (Although requiring prisoners to become literate and earn GEDs is a good idea.)

At least one good model for prison labor already exists. The federal prison system, which requires all prisoners to work, allows particularly well behaved inmates to work in factories run by Federal Prison Industries. They produce everything from office furniture to pens for the government's use. The program also gives prisoners the opportunity to earn money for a nest egg upon release. Prisoners who misbehave lose out on the financial benefits and satisfaction of work. It's probably no coincidence that federal prisons have less violence and produce fewer recidivists than their counterparts on the state level. (Direct comparisons are a bit difficult since a larger percentage of federal inmates are educated white collar workers or sophisticated criminal kingpins.)

Indeed, work can change the entire atmosphere inside prisons. "When you have 50 or 100 jobs paying $5.15 an hour, it can set up lots of good competition within a prison," says Knut Rostad, the president of the Enterprise Prison Institute, a right-leaning group that promotes opportunities for prisoners to work for money. Of course, not everyone supports prison labor. Manufacturers and unions are united in their opposition to the cheap labor which prisoners supposedly provide. (Actually, added security costs and low worker productivity mean that prison labor costs are, at best, about the same as those in the outside world.) Indeed, a bill that would significantly weaken Federal Prison Industries has found supporters in both parties. But the political obstacles to more work by prisoners should not be insuperable.

Prisons should also hold inmates accountable for their behavior, particularly when it comes to drug use. Bureau of Justice Statistics studies from 1997 and 2000 show that over 50 percent of inmates used drugs in the month before their arrests and more than a third committed the crimes for which they are imprisoned while under the influence of narcotics. Despite regular searches, more than 10 percent of inmates test positive for drug use at any given time. Allowing prisoners to continue their drug use inside prison rewards this particular brand of law-breaking.

Those who fail drug tests should receive severe punishments, extra time added to their sentences, and plenty of coercive drug treatment. Most research shows that forced drug rehab programs actually work better than voluntary ones. What better time to mandate sober and drug free behavior than when they are supervised for 24 hours a day? A 2000 UCLA study found that regular drug testing reduces recidivism significantly. Even if it did not, forcing prisoners to stop using drugs they presumably enjoy seems like a more appropriate punishment than shutting down the weight room.

Even if prisons meet the tall order of socializing prisoners to the discipline of work and breaking them of their drug habits, cracking the recidivism problem will also require better follow-up from corrections professionals. Political scientist Edward Banfield famously argued that the real determinant of social class wasn't income as much as it was the ability to plan for the future. A great many criminals live from day to day and misbehave at least in part because they fail to recognize the long-term consequences of their actions. Forcing inmates to plan for their post-release lives could go a long way toward mitigating this problem and, perhaps, stopping them from repeating criminal behavior in the future. Every prisoner leaving the prison gates with the traditional bus ticket and cheap suit

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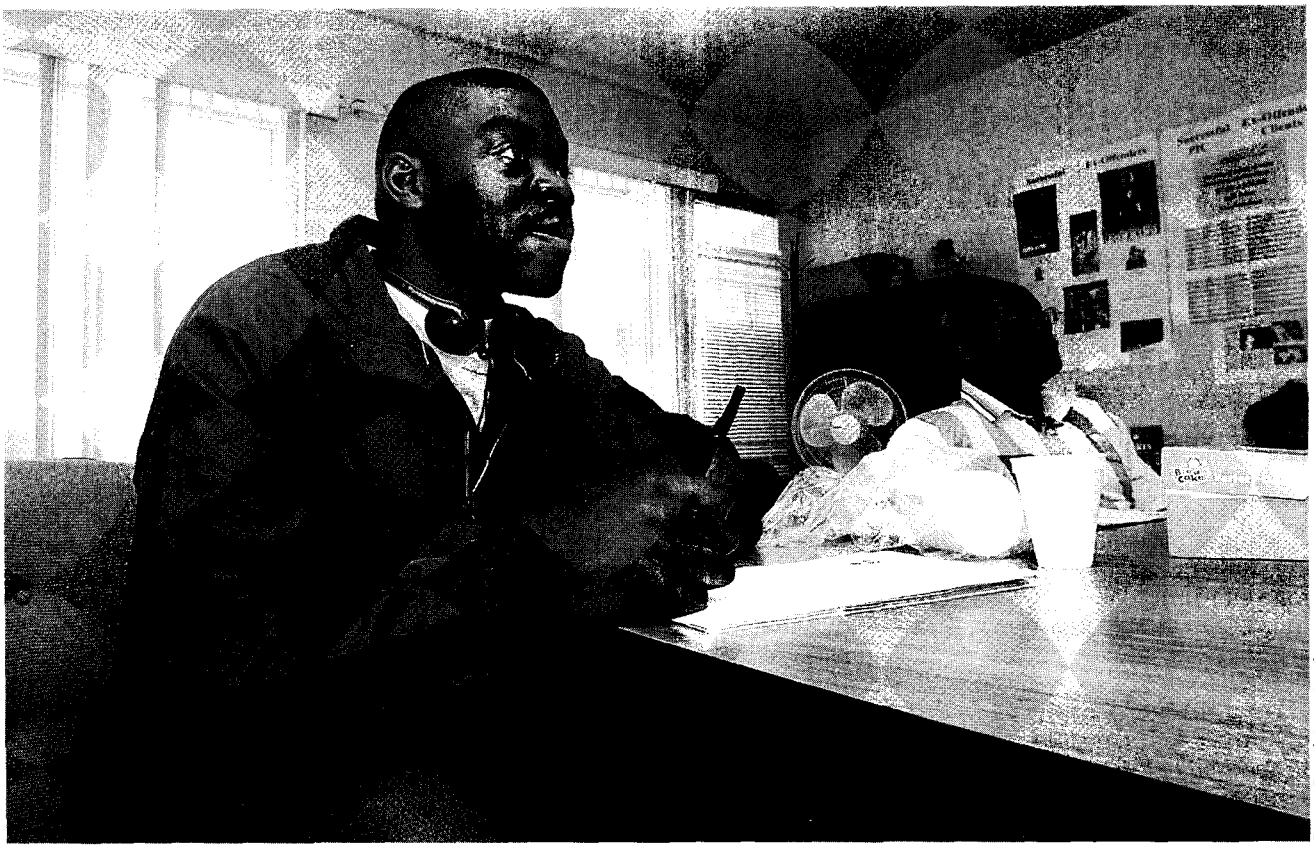

Picture Desk International

A recently released prisoner attends a job-training program in Oakland—a scenario that is all too uncommon.

should also have a specific, detailed plan for his post-release life.

This will require a radical break with current practices. A 2001 Urban Institute study on prisoner reentry uncovered some shocking practices that border on negligence. The state of California sends mentally ill prisoners home with only one day's worth of medication and, quite often, no directions on how to get more. Is it any surprise that so many return to crime? Parole and probation caseloads per officer have more than doubled since 1980. And, although they have proven successful in places like Boston and Orange County, programs based on intensive monitoring are under-funded. Indeed, a June 2002 cover story in *Governing* magazine argued persuasively that Boston's crime rates had begun to rise after a decade of decline largely because the city's law enforcement establishment lost its focus on the intensive intervention program that had become a national model.

Thanks to the end of parole in many states, poorly behaved prisoners often serve out their entire sentences and then get released with no supervision whatsoever. There's no reason why the states shouldn't endeavor to follow up on every released prisoner by, at the very least, forcing them to register with the local police and other social service agencies. Lowell, Mass., and Stamford, Conn., have both pioneered highly effective partnerships with local probation departments. (Both cities, not coincidentally, rank among the top 20 crime reducers in the country.) While intensive monitoring can be costly, it is always cheaper than keeping people locked up. In some cases, states might do better to shorten sentences a bit and redirect the money toward monitoring a larger percentage of released prisoners, re-imprisoning them if they show any sign of reverting to their old ways.

Finally, faith-based programs deserve more consideration. It goes without saying that no prisoner should be forced into faith-based rehabilitation but, at the very least, faith-based programs should stand on an equal footing with the New Age whole-person philosophies that pass for rehabilitation in many prisons today. Recidivism rates were considerably lower in the late 19th century when prisons saw their work in explicitly spiritual terms. Such practices deserve another try. Muscular Billy Graham-style evangelical Christianity, orthodox Islam, and Roman Catholicism all provide clear rules for nearly all aspects of life and, as a result, produce sincere converts who rarely re-offend.

Those who believe that today's prisons are soft on criminals have a point. Allowing inmates to continue lazy, hedonistic, and immoral behavior is a recipe for a high recidivism rate. More than anything else, prisoners need more rules and regulations. Society should force them to work, attend classes, stop doing drugs, and live sober, upright lives after leaving prison. Doing so would punish them and protect the rest of us more effectively than green baloney sandwiches ever could. ♦

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She not only attended the wedding, but danced far into the night with more energy than most of her guests. A year later, she was playing tennis and leading a very active life.

Another woman in her 80s was diagnosed with lung cancer. Six months after she'd been using this special product, her doctor remarked that to his surprise, the lesions had not grown larger and no new ones appeared. Six months after that, the doctor said that his original diagnosis must have been wrong: in spite of two CAT Scans and biopsies that had once showed lung cancer...now there were no signs of cancer!

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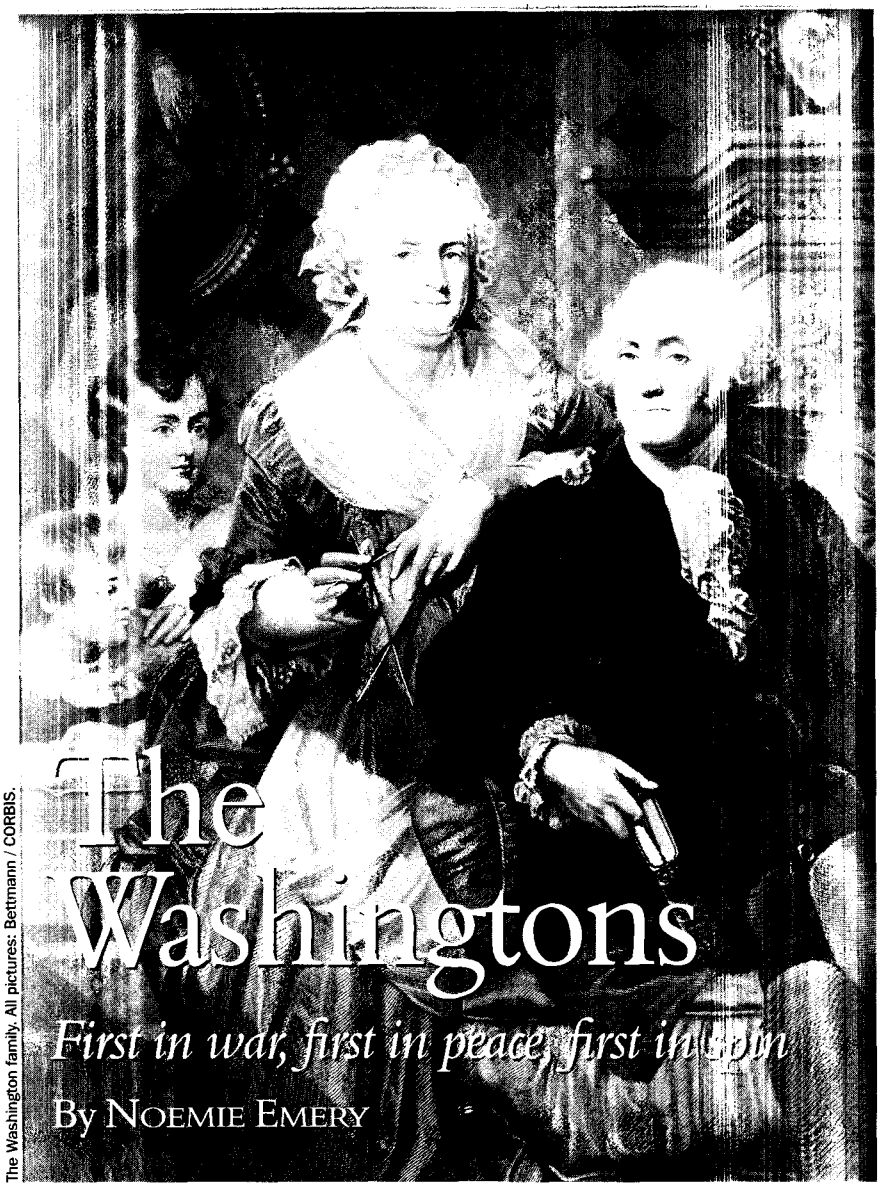

The Washington family. All pictures: Bettmann / CORBIS.

The Washingtons

First in war, first in peace, first in spin

By Noemie Emery

Men come and go, but spin is forever. Like all good first couples, George and Martha Washington spun incessantly throughout their lives, and were spun by others after their deaths. The first kind of spin made them effective, the second made them mysterious—burying much under the cover of virtue, including the fact that they could spin.

These creatures of the robust and realistic colonial era came to be filtered through Victorianism, emerging with a double distortion: not only the Father and Mother of the entire country, but the Albert and Victoria of the American nation. In *Martha Washington: First Lady of Liberty* Helen Bryan argues, "Both George and Martha Washington, once conveniently dead, were resurrected to serve a posthumous political purpose as a model first couple, embodying the values of the new republic amidst the political uncertainties that beset America in the years before the Civil War." With Richard Brookhiser, whose documentary film *Rediscovering George Washington* played on PBS over the Fourth of July holiday, Bryan is doing her intriguing best to reclaim the First Couple, for their age and ours.

Martha Washington
First Lady of Liberty
by Helen Bryan
John Wiley, 432 pp., $30

Noemie Emery is a contributing editor to The Weekly Standard.

George Washington and Martha Dandridge were born into the lower gentry of the Old Dominion and rose in their culture by marrying well. According to Bryan, Martha had a happy childhood from which she emerged as a happy woman, with a great gift for domestic tranquility. It was her good luck and Washington's that at age sixteen she won the affections of Daniel Parke Custis, a harried bachelor of thirty-seven with a large fortune—and an impossible father who railed at Martha as a fortune hunter, threatened to disinherit the couple, gave away goods so that she should not have them, and delayed the marriage by almost two years.

Once wed, however, the Custises lived very nicely, Martha running the house well and bearing four children, two of whom died. It was only three months after the death of the second (a daughter named Frances) that Daniel died as well, leaving Martha a rich and attractive widow, overwhelmed with business distractions and nursing an intense grudge against her husband's deceased father. Those who think Martha a dull little muffin will be delighted to know that she went to her late father-in-law's house in Williamsburg and smashed his cherished collection of hand-blown wine bottles, wine glasses, and delftware bowls.

Eight months after her husband died in 1757, she met the young Colonel Washington, when he stopped at the home of her friends. After no more than three meetings they decided to marry, parted (George was off to Ohio), and did not see each other until seven months later, or just before their wedding on January 6, 1759.

Here, spin enters the Washingtons' story, as Martha's grandson, Washington Custis, painted a picture of love at first sight: "The lady was fair to behold, and of fascinating manners, and splendidly endowed with worldly benefits. The hero, fresh from his early fields, was redolent of fame, and with a form on which 'every god did seem to set his seal, to give the world assurance of a man.'" The truth is that Martha was mourning her husband and child, and distracted with various management problems. George was ending his

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military career in frustration, sick from a long illness, and hopelessly in love with Sally Fairfax, sister-in-law of his late half-brother Lawrence and wife of his closest friend.

George had entered the charmed Fairfax orbit as a boy in his teens when Lawrence had married Anne Fairfax, cousin of the richest landowner in northern Virginia, and it was to the Fairfaxes that George had owed everything: his surveying work, his militia commission, and, above all, his education in the social graces that allowed him to rise in the world. Married to Anne's older brother George William, Sally was only two years older than Washington, and a constant presence in his family circle as he was growing from a gauche and awkward adolescent into a powerful and consequential man.

No one knows when their feelings became more than fraternal, but by 1757 he was sending her letters making it clear that he loved her, and it is equally clear that she did not mind this being said. In the fall of 1758, in the months between his engagement to and marriage to Martha, George was receiving sarcastic letters from Sally about the "animating prospect of possessing" the widow, and he was writing to her of his own great unhappiness.

There are at least two good reasons why this story, if it was known to early biographers, was rapidly spun out of Washington's life. In the first place, the image of a pristine and untroubled first marriage has always been valued political currency and never more so than in the Victorian era. In the second, it would have raised the issue of the material calculations involved in the Washington marriage, which, if commonplace enough in their own day and setting, were perhaps too coldblooded for another age.

When the Washingtons met, each saw an attractive physical specimen. But, more important, they also saw the solution to their most obvious needs. She saw a strong and responsible figure who could run her estates and help with her children. He saw the money to build up Mount Vernon and launch his post-military career. She saw a soldier and hero, respected throughout the colony. He saw a noted political hostess.

Planned for Twelfth Night, then the great winter feast day, their wedding was by all accounts an impressive occasion, with a large house party, rich clothes, richer food, and fine wine. The image presented was of a happy, united, and prosperous couple—a great spin that in time became the reality. It was the qualities the Washingtons showed in their decision to marry that allowed them to bond as the first couple they later became. They were both shrewd, forward-looking, resilient, and canny. They could make sound decisions under enormous emotional pressure. And they shared a keen sense of occasion, image, theatrics, and dress. Martha directed their wedding; George starred in it—as he would star throughout his life. In 1783, as Brookhiser tells us, he put down a menacing army rebellion by making a surprise entrance into the mutineers' meeting, speaking a beautifully modulated plea for forbearance, and then donning his glasses, saying he had not only grown gray, but "half blind in your service." The mutiny ended in tears.

The Young Martha

All his life, Washington paid great attention to dress. He secured his appointment as commander in chief in 1775 when he showed up at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia in a militia uniform he had designed. In this respect, his wife was his equal. Leaving Virginia in the fall of 1775 to go to the armed camp at Cambridge and face an audience that was unfamiliar and possibly hostile, Martha knew she had to prove that the planter and his wife could be genuine democrats. She wore homespun and left the hair powder at home. Visitors to the camp found the wife of the "great general" plainly dressed and constantly knitting: "Her gracious and cheerful manners delighted us all." In New York as first lady, she wore plain clothes in rich fabrics (the formula later chosen by Jacqueline Kennedy). When the capital later moved to Philadelphia, Martha blossomed into more ornate gowns to fit the new mood of the opulent city.

The 1790 portrait by Edward Savage shows a picture-perfect family of George, Martha, and Martha's two grandchildren, Nelly and Wash. Less spinnable would have been her two children, the epileptic Patcy who died in 1767 and the wastrel Jacky who died in 1781. Also not shown was Martha's unhappiness with the social restrictions and the efforts to make her seem non-controversial by her husband's

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political staff. "I live a very dull life here," she wrote to a niece in December. "There are certain bounds set for me that I must not depart from,—and as I cannot do what I like, I am obstinate, and stay at home a great deal." It was after this that Washington's secretary Tobias Lear decided it might be wise to edit her public correspondence or, better still, write it himself. In her name and over the years, Lear and others penned a series of prim little notes brimming with platitudes. No wonder Martha described herself as a "state prisoner" and called these her "lost days," a term she never applied to the eight winters of stress and privation she lived through in army camps during the war.

Still, as Bryan notes, "her presence deflected the undercurrent of scandal . . . that permeated much of George's public life." For most of his life, the Father of His Country was a lure for women. The worldly Sally Fairfax had returned his affection. The intellectual Abigail Adams grew so giddy in his presence that it greatly annoyed her own husband, John. In his youth, he was rumored to have been the real father of one Thomas Posey, born in 1751 to Lawrence Washington's neighbors, whom George later made a general in the revolution, and after that, a territorial governor. The British spread the rumor that he had a mistress in New Jersey, a slave mistress in Virginia, and a colonel's wife kept as a mistress in camp.

A subject that could be spun only through silence was the race issue. One would be unlikely to read in the Washington legends that Martha had a black half-sister, Ann Dandridge. Nor would you read that Daniel Parke Custis had a half-brother called Mulatto Jack, whose preferred legal status under their father's will caused such a headache for Daniel and Martha that Jack's sudden death aroused many suspicions. Washington came in time to detest slavery sufficiently that he wrote into his will a provision to free his slaves on the death of his wife. The result of this well-meaning gesture was that Martha Washington spent the last years of her life convinced that her slaves were attempting to kill her, a rumor that spread throughout Northern Virginia, and led James Madison, who had made a provision quite similar, to excise this part from his will. In the end, it was thought best to free the slaves in her lifetime. Martha herself died about one year later, on May 22, 1802.

The First Lady

Indeed, the race situation for Washington was even more complicated. A rumor persisted that the mother of Anne and George William had been a mulatto, whom their father had married when he was governor of the Bahamas in his youth. (The rumor had enough force that when Lord Fairfax died in 1781, his title went to George William's half-brother, son of their father's indisputably white second wife.) This is a possible explanation for why Anne Fairfax was allowed to marry down and wed Lawrence Washington—but it is also a possible explanation for Sally Fairfax's relations with young George Washington. If Sally had produced a Fairfax heir who looked like George Washington—fair-skinned, blue-eyed, red-haired, and thoroughly Anglo—it might have gone a long way toward reassuring their English relations that her husband should succeed to the Fairfax estate. This sort of thing makes for dynamite reading. But it does make for terrible spin.

Still, the creation of the republic is our history's premier accomplishment in public life. Many virtuosos played in the orchestra—Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams—but Washington stands out as the master conductor. His political talents were crucial to the outcome, giving the world the first example of stable republican leadership it had seen in two thousand years. Appearances have always mattered in politics, but never as much as back then, when Washington's presence—his character, his effect, his presentation of himself and his family—stood for everything the early republic was lacking. He knew when to be strong and when to be pliant, and how to seem strong while remaining non-threatening. Martha knew how to dress for every contingency, from Valley Forge to a high state occasion, and how to talk to everyone, from illiterate recruits to millionaires and their wives.

All the time, the pressure on them was staggering: one false note, and the enterprise might have fallen to pieces. All first ladies and presidents after them have known that a wrong move could hurt a career or a party's agenda. The Washingtons knew that a wrong move could end the American experiment. No false moves were made by our first "Power Couple," first in war, first in peace, first in spin. ♦

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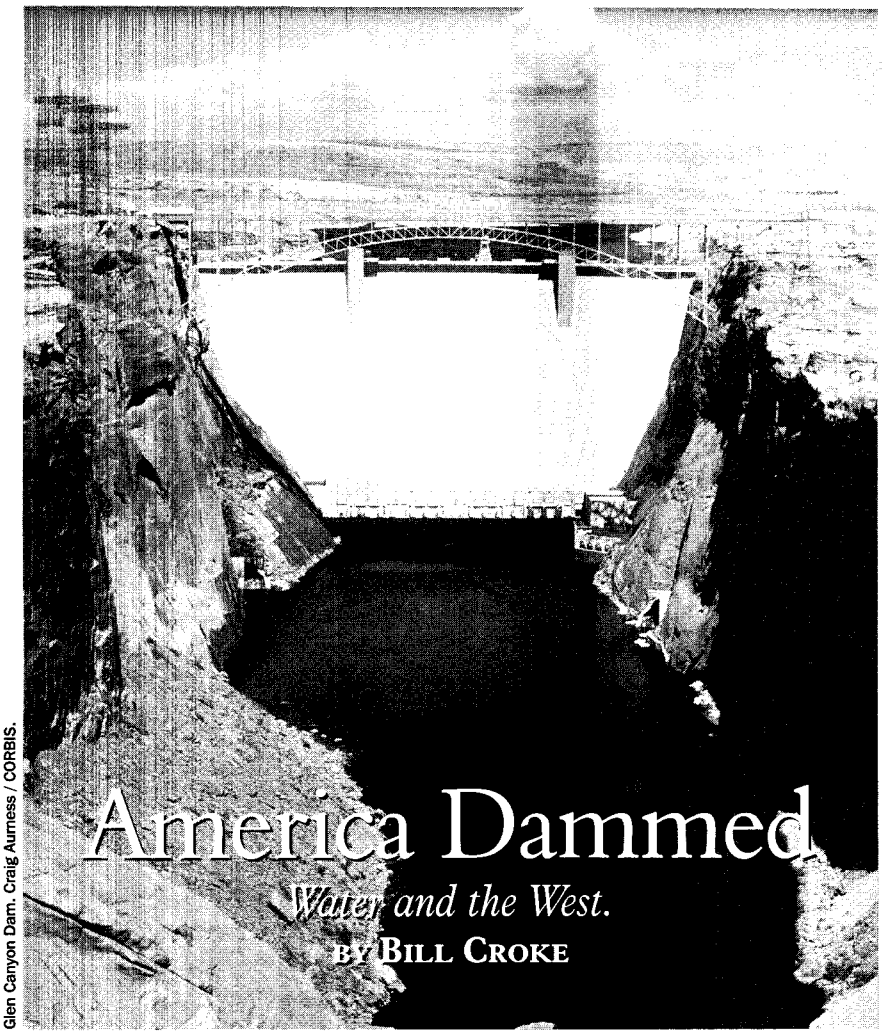

Glen Canyon Dam. Craig Aurness / CORBIS.

America Dammed

Water and the West.

BY BILL CROKE

The United States Bureau of Reclamation, begun in 1902, celebrated its centenary earlier this year with a reception at Hoover Dam, attended by Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton and other political and bureaucratic dignitaries.

In that century, the Bureau of Reclamation has built and maintained six hundred dams and accompanying reservoirs. Its fifty-eight power plants generate forty billion kilowatt hours a year, lighting six million homes. The reservoirs provide ten trillion gallons of drinking water to thirty-one million people in the West. Accompanying water projects send irrigation water to 140,000 farmers working ten million acres that produce 60 percent of the nation's vegetables and 25 percent of its fruits and nuts. The Bureau of Reclamation's water irrigates most of the cattle ranches in the Mountain West, and its reservoirs host ninety million boaters and fishermen each year.

A recent enthusiasm of the environmental Left is "breaching" (a partial deconstruction that restores normal river flow) or entirely removing dams. Not all of this is a bad idea. The Army Corps of Engineers has built some seventy-five thousand dams in its two-century history, many of them rock and earthen millpond dams in New England. But the environmentalists' dream is a recipe for disaster in the arid West.

Watershed
The Undamming of America
by Elizabeth Grossman
Counterpoint, 320 pp., $26

That didn't stop Clinton administration interior secretary Bruce Babbitt from conducting a national "Dam Busters" tour as he inspected possible breaching and decommissioning sites. Accompanying Babbitt on much of this fabled tour was Elizabeth Grossman, a journalist originally from Manhattan and lately relocated to Portland, Oregon (one of the shining capitals of the Green intelligentsia). Grossman soon became enamored with the movement to drain the West's reservoirs like so many bathtubs, and her new book, *Watershed: The Undamming of America*, is a well-written argument in defense of an extremely bad idea. She devotes half her book to warranted removal projects in a handful of eastern states, but comes at last to the conclusion that a dam is just a dam, whether it's a small rock barrier on Maine's Kennebec River or the towering Glen Canyon Dam on the Colorado River. They're all damn bad, and they all have to go.

Glen Canyon, the seven-hundred-foot concrete plug on the Utah-Arizona border, is the poster dam for the Dam Buster movement. Eloquently written about by the likes of Wallace Stegner, Edward Abbey, and David Brower, pre-dam Glen Canyon was an Eden of multi-colored rock with clear springs trickling down its walls, beautifully mysterious side canyons of grottos and waterfalls, and remote willow-stirred beaches: a two-thousand-feet-deep crack in the earth accessible only by river raft. It's now all at the bottom of Lake Powell. Brower once delivered a eulogy: "Glen Canyon died in 1963 and I was partly responsible for its needless death. So were you. Neither you nor I, nor anyone else, knew it well enough to insist that at all costs it should endure. When we began to find out it was too late." Abbey wrote: "To grasp the nature of the crime that was committed, imagine the Taj Mahal or Chartres Cathedral buried in mud until only the spires remain visible."

The Colorado River is known for high turbidity, vast amounts of silt washing downstream. In the past this silt made for expansive canyon beaches with vegetation and wildlife. Since the dam was built, the mud has begun to accumulate, and Lake Powell is silting up. In a century or two, the Colorado will spill over the dam like a desert Niagara Falls. The Greens argue that we ought to breach the dam before this happens. Why not let nature take its course and scour out Glen Canyon and return it to its pristine state?

The answer is that Lake Powell, Lake Mead, and other impoundments

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on the river are subject to the 1922 Colorado River Compact, the Talmud of western water law, which "divides the seven states of the Colorado River Basin into Upper and Lower Halves." In the West, water is a commodity, and the water of the Upper Basin (Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming) is much in demand in the Lower Basin (California, Nevada, Arizona), home to some of the nation's fastest growing cities: Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Tucson.

If Glen Canyon Dam were breached, the Upper States would be giving away the store, with disastrous economic and political consequences. It's something they are not about to do to please environmentalists, river rafters, and swimming-pool owners in Los Angeles who would love cheaper municipal water rates.

Another of Grossman's crusades is the preservation of "anadromous" fish (species that migrate up rivers to spawn, with the offspring returning to the sea), particularly salmon. She supports the breaching of four dams on the lower Snake River—Ice Harbor, Lower Monument, Little Goose, Lower Granite—in Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. Her argument essentially boils down to a claim that "salmon are a cultural icon." Needless to say, this view is not universally held throughout the region in which, she laments, "Dams mean business." In fact, they have made possible annual barge traffic revenue on the Snake and Columbia rivers valued at $3 billion. This has made Portland, Oregon, America's largest wheat-exporting port. Twenty-three percent of the nation's grain exports move through the river system, providing 5,000 jobs to towns such as Lewiston, Idaho, and Pasco, Kennewick, and Richland, Washington. The Snake River dams have the hydropower "peaking output" (when water flows are at their highest) of 3.5 million kilowatts, enough to supply the needs of three cities the size of Seattle.

Grossman chronicles a public meeting on dams in Portland, filled with sophisticated "urban, outdoorsy, and professional" people who are almost unanimous in sharing her contempt for the dams. Two weeks later, at another meeting in Pasco, Grossman runs up against economic reality. The locals have gathered at a public meeting sponsored by a federal caucus charged with gathering public comments on a document convolutedly titled: "The Draft Lower Snake River Juvenile Salmon Migration Feasibility Report and Environmental Impact Statement and the Federal Caucus All-H Paper."

"It's not about fish," a woman tells Grossman. "It's about being able to control land. It's about removing people's ability to manage their own lifestyles. It's being done in Washington, D.C., not here. They're taking people's ability to control their own lives. . . . The further you are from an area, the more you want to protect it." This sentiment is a constant theme in the West.

Most of the people who live near these dams think that breaching or removing them is a bad idea. The "Dam Busters" are typically urban dwellers from Seattle, Portland, Berkeley, and Boulder.

Still, Elizabeth Grossman's *Watershed* is a readable update on the region's perennially complicated water wars. As Mark Twain once put it: "Liquor's for drinking; water's for fighting over." ♦

Internet Rules

The dubious organization that controls the web. **BY MAUREEN SIRHAL**

As the Internet and its new technologies become ubiquitous, few of us recognize the control exercised by one obscure nonprofit organization in California. In *Ruling the Root: Internet Governance and the Taming of Cyberspace*, Syracuse University professor Milton Mueller claims that the future of cyberspace is being controlled by a handful of industry and technology insiders who have built a new regulatory regime for the Internet. And they have done so in an opaque manner, without any accountability to the public, while the United States government blithely lets slip away its control over the system it helped create.

Ruling the Root
Internet Governance and the Taming of Cyberspace
by Milton L. Mueller
MIT Press, 332 pp., $32.95

As the Internet grew from a military-academic research initiative to a commercial venture, the technologists who laid its foundation began facing uncomfortable questions concerning ownership. Since the Internet consists of globally connected computer networks, the question of who should claim authority for the system proved highly contentious.

A series of databases known as "root servers" essentially run the Internet, linking websites to the Internet addresses of servers. This system enabled the creation of domain names, which provided the essential element necessary to make the Internet commercially viable. Root servers contain registration information for domain names and ensure that each name is unique. Those two features made the system highly valuable to industries and technology enthusiasts, as well as the federal government. The fact that the system was global made it attractive to foreign nations.

That's where the problems with cyberspace began, according to Mueller. The granddaddy of these root

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servers (the "A" root) is in Herndon, Virginia, at the home of a federal contractor called Network Solutions that began providing public registration services back in 1995 under a deal with the National Science Foundation. The link between the functionality of the Internet and this root server launched a series of battles, with private companies, consumer advocates, civil liberties groups, and government officials wrangling for control.

The value of the "A" root is immeasurable, for any organization that controls it can establish innovations on the web by adding new domain name suffixes (such as .com, .net, and .org). So, in 1998, many of the people who originally built the Internet infrastructure while working for the U.S. Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency moved to launch a private organization to resolve the issue of Internet authority.

What emerged from all this in 1998 was the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), formed by the Internet Society, the Internet Engineering Task Force, federal government agencies, and representatives of foreign nations. ICANN sought to fulfill what President Clinton's White House Internet policy czar Ira Magaziner deemed necessary for the new economy: to leave the Internet in the hands of the private sector. ICANN would become the management authority for the Internet root. Aiming to craft efficient private-sector management of the global resource, ICANN was supposed to have a narrow focus, serving as a "technical coordination body." It would oversee the day-to-day operations of the root servers and ensure the Internet's addressing system functioned normally.

The result has been anything but efficient private-sector leadership. Mueller argues that ICANN—as an organization without public accountability—has fallen prey to interest groups and technical insiders. "ICANN is not primarily concerned with technical coordination, nor is it a standards setting organization," Mueller insists. "Rather, it is an institution that ties the need for technical coordination to regulation of the industry built around the resource it manages."

Take, for example, ICANN's moves to expand the rights of copyright holders. Once consumers began to realize that domain names were valuable, many began trading in trademarked names. ICANN appeased intellectual-property interests by adopting a policy that all registrars or companies that sell Net domain names must make publicly available a database (known as WHOIS) that lists the name and address of every individual or organization that owns a web address. The move aimed to make it easier for trademark attorneys to ferret out infringements, despite the potential for privacy violations.

Many lawmakers oppose letting ICANN maintain control over a key public asset. But its widely publicized overhaul will probably keep the Commerce Department from interfering.

Those same trademark interests also successfully talked ICANN into a policy that allows for private arbitration proceedings against web address holders deemed to be engaging in "bad faith" use of a trademarked domain name. This "Uniform Dispute Resolution Policy," Mueller notes, was a massive expansion of trademark rights. The market for sellers of domain names is now valued at $2.5 billion—and all its participants are bound to ICANN by contract, which makes ICANN the arbiter of business plans for domain sellers.

Mueller ignores some of the value ICANN's policies have provided. For one thing, ICANN has fostered competition: Consumers now have choice of where to purchase Internet address services. More to the point, there has to be *someone* acting as a registrar. The Internet's real value is that it is one system of interconnected networks. Most of the technical coordinators for other global systems, like the telephone, reside with United Nations groups such as the International Telecommunications Union—which are often dominated by less-developed nations and move at a snail's pace. Is this what we want for the Internet?

Still, the stability of the organization that governs the Internet naming systems is crucial in the age where terrorists are increasingly relying on the web as their primary mode of communication and the American economy migrates from industrial to information-based. Mueller demands that ICANN discard its sheep's clothing and declare itself a regulator. As such, it would need to implement a system of public accountability and operate in the open. For now, the only real check on ICANN's authority is the distant threat of the Commerce Department, which has the power to refuse to renew ICANN's role as an Internet governing body—a power Magaziner wanted to hand over to the nebulous "Internet community," thus avoiding the touchy issue of having an American agency in control of an international utility.

After the events of September 11, many federal lawmakers oppose letting ICANN maintain control over a key public asset. Indeed, Magaziner and many others involved in the establishment of ICANN now think that the organization has faltered dramatically. They're right. But ICANN has convened a widely publicized process to overhaul its structure, which will probably be enough to convince the Commerce Department not to interfere. Disturbing as *Ruling the Root* is, Milton Mueller is likely to have plenty of fodder for a sequel. ♦

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Roman Republican

The character of Cicero.

BY ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN

For centuries the works of Cicero were models of Latin style, and even after Latin no longer served as Europe's literary language, Cicero's rotund and balanced phrases shaped the speeches and prose of England and America—of Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, Edward Gibbon, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Winston Churchill, to name only a few.

Cicero
The Life And Times of Rome's Greatest Politician
by Anthony Everitt
Random House, 368 pp., $25.95

Indeed, the recognition of Cicero's style began earlier. Within a few generations of his death he had already become the standard by which Latin prose was measured. Quintilian, the great Roman teacher of rhetoric, wrote: "For posterity the name of Cicero has come to be regarded not as the name of a man, but as the name of eloquence itself." (Not all have agreed. Montaigne quipped that with his speeches one could nod off for a quarter of an hour and still pick up the thread.)

But Cicero was more than an orator and exemplary stylist. When he found himself shut out of political affairs, he retired to one of his several villas to write books on political philosophy, ethics, law, theology, and the theory and teaching of rhetoric. No Latin author before Augustine offered so many writings on so many different subjects in so many genres. It was a singular achievement that set his oeuvre apart from that of such poets as Catullus, Horace, and Virgil, or such historians as Livy and Tacitus, or such dramatists as Plautus and Terence. Though not an original thinker, Cicero had mastered Greek, and with his knowledge of the philosophers and his talent as a writer, he transmitted and interpreted the wisdom of ancient Greece to the Romans, creating a philosophical vocabulary in Latin that endures to this day in words such as "quality" and "essence." In the Middle Ages, when knowledge of Greek was lost, Western thinkers knew the Greeks primarily through Cicero. In the early years of America, his writings were invoked to support the idea of three branches of government. John Adams read and reread his essay *On Old Age* throughout his life.

Today Cicero is read by few even in translation, and for many, students and faculty alike, he is only a dim memory. In a new biography, *Cicero: The Life and Times of Rome's Greatest Politician*, Anthony Everitt hopes to restore him "to his proper place in the pantheon of our common past." There are many books on Cicero, though no recent biography in English, and Everitt has chosen to highlight the personal and the political, with Cicero's intellectual accomplishments and influence on later generations treated only perfunctorily.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born in 106 B.C., and his life parallels the gradual disintegration of the Roman Republic in the middle of the first century. He lived during a time of continuous disorder and recurrent warfare (political leaders could not go about the city without an armed guard), and he fought to prevent the republican constitution from being paralyzed and dismantled. He moved swiftly up the political ladder and was made consul in his early forties, but his political good fortune was short lived. Driven into exile after his success in securing a conviction in the Catiline conspiracy, he languished for a year and a half in Macedonia. On return he was welcomed warmly, but events had passed him by. The world he had tried to preserve was collapsing, and more and more of his time was spent at one of his villas writing philosophical essays, among which are his treatises *On the Orator*, really an essay on political education, and *On the State*.

When Caesar began to seize power, Cicero vacillated, but as Caesar's intentions became evident, Cicero resisted his entreaties to join him and retreated again to his books. He could not abide Caesar's imperiousness. Though not invited to join in the conspiracy to assassinate Caesar, he hailed his death. In the months that followed, he made one last desperate attempt to save the republic. Week after week he appeared in the Forum to deliver a series of speeches, called the *Philippics* (after the famous speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon). Without public office or soldiers under his command, armed only with his voice and reputation, he stood against the foes of the republic, notably Antony. This was the time of his greatest triumph, but he was blind to what lay ahead. It proved to be Octavian, not Antony, who was the greatest danger to the future of the republic. When Octavian (the future Caesar Augustus) joined forces with Antony and marched on Rome, the abolition of the republic was no less complete than if Caesar had lived. "I am a spent force," Cicero wrote. "The Senate was my weapon and it has fallen to pieces." His struggle to preserve the constitution was dead, and his own execution would follow shortly.

Cicero's life was full, and he did live in historic times, but Everitt's narrative lacks an authoritative interpretive voice. Though one learns a great deal about Cicero and life in ancient Rome, *Cicero* trudges along too close to the ground. By relegating Cicero's intellectual contributions to a few obligatory and superficial pages Everitt makes it

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Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Cicero Denouncing Catalina Before the Senate, *by Cesare Maccari (1840-1919).*

hard to discern the links between his philosophical views and his actions. In part this may be because Everitt has a jejune view of human greatness. Cicero was a man of firm convictions, moral self-assurance, and courage, who struggled his entire life to preserve the republic from the rule of one man, who believed there was no form of government that could compare with the Roman constitution, who labored to hand on the traditions of the past—yet, according to Everitt, his "greatest gift to European civilization" was that he was "rational, undogmatic, tolerant, law-abiding, urbane." If latitudinarianism is the measure of virtue, the stature of a man like Cicero will remain elusive.

Cicero was many things, orator, advocate, essayist, sage, statesman, patriot, but "Rome's greatest politician," as Everitt's subtitle has it, is a stretch. He was often out of power, and his impact on events was slight. He misjudged the intentions of others, he was unrealistic, he was outmaneuvered and outwitted by his adversaries, and he was susceptible to flattery. In truth, his immortality rests more on his words than on his deeds. Petrarch may have had it right in his famous letter to the "shade" of Cicero in which he reproached him for returning to politics after the death of Caesar: "Why did you involve yourself in so many contentions and useless quarrels, and forsake the calm so becoming to your age, your position and the vicissitudes of your life? What vain splendor of fame drove you . . . into a death unworthy of a sage?"

Cicero was a tireless letter writer (most were written to an intimate friend, Atticus, over many years), and the preservation of his letters means that we know him far better than we know most figures from the ancient world. Once the reader gets past his vanity and immoderate boasting (some Renaissance figures argued that it was his enemies who first had his letters published to embarrass him), his words speak to us with the voice of a living man. He opened his heart to his friends: "My brilliant worldly friendships may make a fine show in public, but in the home they are barren things. My house is crammed of a morning, I go down to the Forum surrounded by droves of friends, but in all the crowds I cannot find one person with whom I can exchange an unguarded joke or let out a private sigh." After the death of his daughter he wrote Atticus from his house in Astura, south of Rome: "In this lonely place I don't talk to a soul. Early in the day I hide myself in a thick, thorny wood, and don't emerge till evening. When I am alone all my conversation is with books; it is interrupted by fits of weeping, against which I struggle as best I can. But so far it is an unequal fight." And he had a quick and mordant wit. On meeting a man with three unattractive daughters he quoted the verse, "Apollo never meant him to beget."

When death came, Cicero faced it bravely and with serenity. One of the first acts of the new triumvirate of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus was to place his name, and those of his family, on the "proscription," a list for a political massacre that made one's enemies fair game for bounty hunters. Cicero fled Rome, and headed to the sea where he found a ship. Setting sail, his pilots found favorable winds, but after a few hours he ordered them to return to shore.

At first he began walking towards Rome, but soon changed his mind and retired to his villa on the sea at Caeta, sixty miles south of Rome. There he was hunted down and brutally murdered with a copy of Euripides' *Medea* in his hand. When his assassin approached his litter, he pulled aside the curtain and said, "Come here, soldier. There is nothing proper about what you are doing, but at least make sure you cut off my head properly." His killers obliged by cutting off not only his head but also his right hand (the instrument of his speeches), both to be displayed in the Forum.

Cicero was a man of words, and even in his death he had the right words for the occasion. Yet this greatest of Latin orators, the exemplar of literary grace and sophistication, is also the man who wrote that it is the person of the speaker, not the speech itself, that gives power to words. In the end, only the constancy of character persuades. ♦

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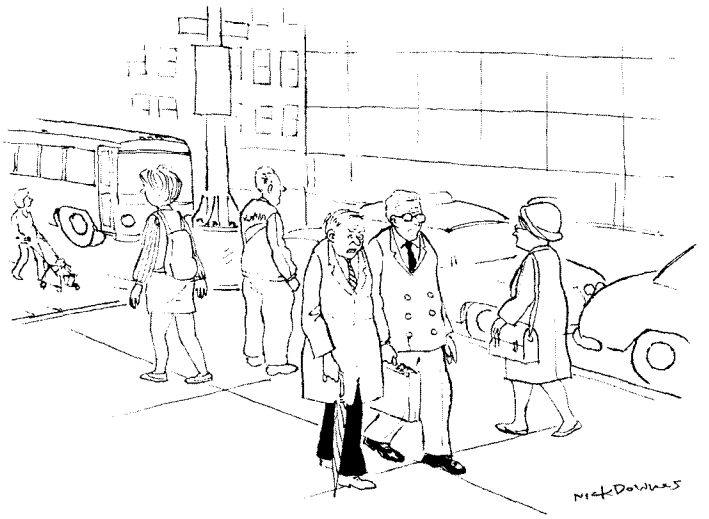

"Seen any movies worth storming out of, lately?"

Books in Brief

***Poems of New York* edited by Elizabeth Schmidt (Everyman's Library, 256 pp., $12.50).** I've long thought the three great subjects for art are faith, love, and New York City, so I was eager to open *Poems of New York*, a small-format paperback in the revived Everyman's Library.

What a disaster it is. Whenever the selections within an anthology are ordered by the alphabet or chronology, you know the book is under-edited. What would you think of a magazine that published articles alphabetically? And the large defects reflect deficiencies in details. As I was reading the selections, most of them from familiar names—Whitman, Melville, Moore, W.C. Williams, Hughes, Hart Crane, Cummings, Ginsberg, Kinnell—I was repeatedly reminded of who and what wasn't included. The anthology lacks most conspicuously David Ignatow and Harvey Shapiro, who made New York City life their principal subject in classic poems grittier than those included here. Biased to favor famous poets who incidentally wrote about New York, this anthology has no surprises.

Eschewing poems more innovative than those associated with the "New York School" of John Ashbery and others, this book reveals a taste that is essentially academic—even though New York City poetry differs from, say, Iowa City poetry in having scant connection to universities.

What's also missing from this anthology is nearly all poetry written in New York, about New York, in languages other than English. The book includes a selection from Federico García Lorca and another, less distinguished, from Wislawa Szymborska, who copped a Nobel Prize several years ago; but *Poems of New York* has nothing in Russian (such as a Vladimir Mayakovsky classic), nothing from the Yiddish, nothing initially in Italian.

If the bane of public poetry in this country is sentimental personal prefaces designed to inflate the poem to be read, this anthology is the first to demonstrate the contagious disease affecting poetry editing: "I began collecting the poems in the anthology just after the September 11 attack on The World Trade Center—an attack I witnessed with my family, neighbors, and strangers from the stoop of my building in lower Manhattan."

Under-edited, *Poems of New York* was also under-conceived, perhaps because it comes from a series clumsily entitled "Library Pocket Poets," where the other volumes are: *Marriage Poems*, *On Wings of Song: Poems About Birds*, *Prayers*, *Poems of the Sea*, and *Zen Poems*. Put in the same class as birds and Zen, New York City barely escapes alive.

—Richard Kostelanetz

***The Salmon of Doubt: Hitchhiking the Galaxy One Last Time* by Douglas Adams (Harmony, 288 pp., $24).** If you know that the answer to the question of the meaning of life is forty-two, then you know the works of Douglas Adams. With his five-part *Hitchhiker* "trilogy" and radio series, two Dirk Gently novels, various journalistic dabblings and multimedia projects, Adams was an enormous success in the field of comic science fiction before his death last year at age 49.

The Salmon of Doubt, however, is a sad attempt to claim Adams as a serious writer. Three prologues and an epilogue by various authors sandwich a smattering of essays, interviews, sketches, and an attempted salvage job of his final novel-in-progress. Nicholas Wroe insists, "The second Dirk Gently novel can easily be read as being about people who are homeless, displaced, and alienated from society." Adams's longtime editor Sue Firestone chimes in that his social criticism "is usually buried by the comedy, but it's there if you want to find it."

Though these fans want to paint Adams retroactively as a novelist of ideas, his whole approach "to life, the universe, and everything" saw seriousness as detrimental to creativity and fun. His books are packed with ideas, but he uses them to set up gags, propel the story, and spread a sort of geeky but pleasing veneer over his stories. His atheism could be off-putting, but he wasn't a bigot. Adams didn't suffer from the conceit that people were reading his books because of his ideology, and so, for the most part, he checked it at the door. The *Hitchhiker* series is a genuinely odd, quirky, comic masterpiece.

—Jeremy Lott

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Bush Seeks Regime Change at New York Times

Invasion Plans on His Desk, Sources Say

After a series of heated discussions, the Bush administration has concluded that it has no choice but to seek to overthrow the dictatorial leadership of the *New York Times*. "We have satellite networks monitoring world Evil," a top administration source said. "And there's been a lot of activity emanating from 43rd Street."

Communications intercepts revealed that the *Times* was readying a four part series of articles investigating potential effects of a war against Iraq: "Part 1: War Against Iraq Would Lead to Genocide, Starvation, Global Warming, End of Human Life as We Know It"; "Part 2: Invasion of Iraq Would Mean Longer Lines at Zabar's"; "Part 3: Invade Iraq? Off-Broadway Says No"; "Part 4: Peace Chic! Activist Fashions Revive at Dalton School."

Reasonably sure that the *Times* was evil, administration officials took the extraordinary step of bringing a picture of editor Howell Raines in to President Bush. "We can't be sure until the president looks into the man's soul. He can do it even with an 8 x 10 glossy. It's amazing." The president looked into Mr. Raines's eyes. "Major-league evil," he declared.

Immediately there was internal dissension. State Department officials were concerned about upsetting an institution they refer to as "Our Base." White House officials tried in vain to persuade Colin Powell that voters elect the president, not the editors of the *Times*—to him an unfamiliar interpretation of the Constitution.

Meanwhile military leaders had their own concerns. They were reasonably confident they could subdue the *Times* quickly. According to Pentagon analysis, Raines can only rely on his elite Democratic Guard. He is widely resented by the other 80 percent of the staff, who regard themselves, and not Raines, as God's gift to journalism.

But the military brass stressed that the job of occupying the *Times* after the conquest would be a messy one. "Look at the op-ed page alone," one general declared. "You've got Krugman, Herbert, Rich, Kristoff, Dowd, and on and on. Most of our soldiers don't even speak Liberal. They could be facing years of sarcastic condescension that they'd be totally unprepared for."

Still, military planning proceeds apace. One invasion plan calls for infiltration from the east and north. The idea would be to cut *Times* editors off from their second homes in the Hamptons and the Hudson Valley, and then send in Special Forces brigades disguised as bridge and tunnel people to capture the *Times* editors while they are disoriented from having to spend a weekend in Manhattan.

The plan poses risks, however. Military leaders are concerned that they could be drawn into a cubicle-to-cubicle struggle, and that *Times* editors would unleash their stockpile of highly stinky French cheeses, and other chemical agents.

■ **Tracking Osama / Pages 28-29**

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Teacher Union Power Is Awesomely Arrogant

Paul E. Peterson is director of the Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University; senior fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education.

In New York City, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is fighting efforts to restore order to schools. The school board wants teachers to supervise hallways, lunchrooms, and playgrounds because costly but ineffectual "paraprofessionals" don't command respect. But union leaders refuse to cooperate, even though their members work less than four hours a day.

In California, the National Education Association (NEA) is demanding control of school curricula. In Massachusetts, the NEA has fought teacher competency tests clear to the state supreme court. Elsewhere, the AFT and NEA are preventing the formation of union-free charter schools.

As private sector unionism has waned, the NEA and AFT have become the most powerful labor combination in America. They contribute millions to Democratic and Republican candidates for office. Teachers also constitute as many as a quarter of the delegates to the national Democratic conventions. In school board and school bond elections, teachers outvote citizens by large margins. In a bond referendum in Huntington Beach, California, 93 percent of the teachers voted, according to a Stanford study, though overall turnout was 19 percent; in nearby Santa Ana, 88 percent of the teachers voted, as compared to 23 percent of all registrants.

Yet for all this political influence, unions do not protect the earnings of the many good, hardworking teachers. In 1940, female teachers made better than 60 percent of that earned by average college-educated women; by 1990, they were earning 40 percent. Among males, salaries slipped from 52 to 33 percent of the college-educated average.

As pay has fallen, so has teacher quality. According to the Department of Labor, 50 percent of women entering teaching in the 1970s received high scores on an educational achievement test. Twenty years later, high-scoring female teachers constituted 10 percent of the total. For male teachers, the drop in high scorers was from 20 to 10 percent.

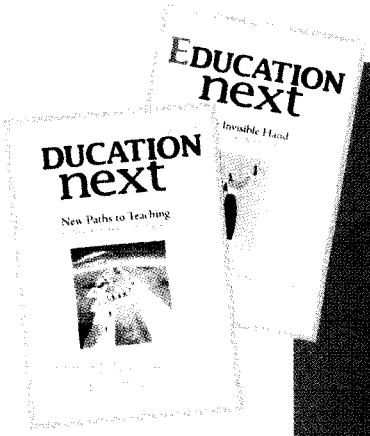
So what's gone wrong? Powerful unions should be fighting for wages that attract the best and the brightest. Part of the problem is insistence on uniform pay, whereby leaders resist attempts to reward teachers of special merit or pay more for those who have skills that are in short supply. More money is given only to those teachers with years of experience or added credentials. Because teacher effectiveness generally declines after five years, and teacher credentials have been proven meaningless, a disconnect exists between service rendered and compensation received. Thus, it makes little sense to pay employees more.

School boards and unions also take the line of least resistance by handing out more rights and less work rather than increasing teachers pay. Indeed, it was to keep wage demands down that the New York school board agreed to give hallway supervision to the paraprofessionals.

Moreover, ineffectual teachers make for loyal union members. And when ineffective teachers abound, more are needed: the ratio of pupils to teachers nationwide plunged from twenty-two to seventeen between 1970 and 1995. More teachers, more dues, more campaign contributions, more power, more rights—lower performance. No wonder lawmakers are beginning to talk accountability.

— *Paul E. Peterson*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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